THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

February 26, 1949

STRIKERS EXECUTED

AN EDITORIAL

KMT And Chinese Dynasties

C. C. Lin

Should China Use Tractors?

R. D. Merrick

Problems Of Malayan Federation

Ngiam Tong-fatt

WHAT IS RED POLICY?

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 112 GY300 NUMBER 13

1870

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B.F.Goodrich

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

US Need Not Worry

To The Editor:

I share your opinion that the end of our Civil War is not far off. This war, which is a kind of revolution, will free China of all the reactionary elements, and China will emerge as a totally different nation in a turbulent world.

Uncle Sam's uneasiness about China's turning "communistic" is quite understandable when we realize that he has invested billions of dollars to forestall the change. But if he were in China's shoes, what would he think?

We Chinese are suffering because our country is a semi-feudalistic and semi-colonial country. China as a nation must progress or perish. But the reactionary forces both within and outside of this country, form a strong front to nullify any efforts to improve the situation by peaceful means. So these elements must be cleared, with armed force, if necessary.

We prefer socialism rather than capitalism, or the "free enterprise system," because a future China must be free of the old rivalry between the rich and the poor. If men are created equal, why should the rich live comfortably while the poor suffer?

In the years to come, we little expect Uncle Sam to favor us with any more material aid. But Sino-American trade can continue and prosper. We have surplus raw materials to offer in exchange for American machines and technical "know-how" which we badly need. Both countries can benefit through trade, and American statesmen will not be so unwise as to neglect this fact.

Whoever the future ruler of China may be, the Chinese people will be essentially the same; they are just as peace-loving, generous and hospitable as the American people. America need not worry that the Chinese will have any bad feeling toward their great former ally.

T. C. TSAI

Takao, Taiwan
February 17, 1949.

Troop Discipline

To The Editor:

After reading your editorial "Discipline of Troops Needed", in the February 12th issue of the *Review*, I can no longer keep silent.

As the power of the Kuomintang has declined, the discipline of the Nationalist troops has become progressively worse. Every day the newspapers report new incidents of robbery and fighting by the soldiers. Certainly they are not to be entirely blamed for wanting to live comfortably while their superiors enjoy so many luxuries. But it is hard to justify their throwing hand grenades merely to be allowed to enter a theater free of charge. Hand grenades were made for resisting the enemy and not for attacking citizens.

I want to thank you for the trouble you took in sending me several issues of the *Review*, and also thank the readers who contributed them. Fortunately my economic condition has improved a

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Index for February 26, 1949

Editorial Paragraphs

What Is Communist Policy? 307
Strike Leaders Executed 308
US Military Court 309
Newsman's Visa Cancelled 310
Apology (Army Style) 310

Special Articles

Should China Use Tractors? ..... *R. D. Merrick* 312
The Kuomintang And Chinese Dynasties ..... *C. C. Lin* 315
A Chinese Professor's Report ..... *Wu Han* 317
Malayan Federation Meets Opposition ..... *Ngiam Tong-Fatt* 318

Economic Section

The Week's Business 319

Departments

Letters From The People 303
25 Years Ago 311
News Of The Week 320
Chinese Magazine Roundup 322
US Magazine Roundup 323
What Chinese Papers Say 324
What US Papers Say 325
The Review's English Lesson LXXII 326

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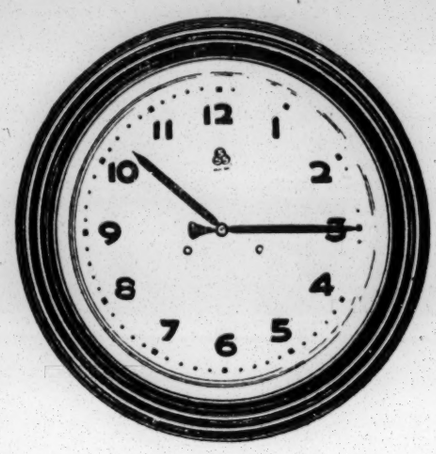

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little, so I have never suspended the study of English with your estemed weekly. I should like to return the seven copies of the *Review* so that they may be given to a needy student.

WONG SZE LIANG

Shanghai
February 18, 1949.

Cannon Fodder

To The Editor:

I have had to say goodby to your *Review* now that my subscription has expired and my economic condition has gotten worse. During Chiang Ching-kuo's rule of Shanghai my salary as a soldier was GY6 per month which was then equal to a three month subscription. Despite the rapid inflation of the new currency my income is now GY90 per month—less than 10 cents in US currency. At the beginning of the currency reform it was US$1.50.

We know that our countrymen, as well as foreigners, look at us strangely. From their point of view they regard soldiers as tigers, ruthless, bad fellows, without knowledge, etc. So we receive a cold greeting from the people. But we should explain to our countrymen and foreign friends that these soldiers were conscripted because the Government wanted them as cannon fodder for the Civil War. How can anyone expect well behaved men to be produced by the Government's ill treatment and poor moral training?

With the deterioration of the situation, the Nationalist Government has ordered our school to leave Shanghai and move to Formosa. Although we wish to stay here, despite whatever government is in power, the authorities have commanded us to leave.

Like other people, we hope the present Government will be taken over by a new one with this prerequisite: Democracy in politics and true equality in economics. Since we come from the unfortunate poor, we fervently hope that poor boys will have an equal chance to receive a higher education in the near future.

The result of our "democratic" government's banning of liberal magazines finds the existing magazines which are of value coming to a standstill. So I suggest you replace the "Chinese Magazine Roundup" with increased space for the English lesson. The present poor quality magazines contain nothing but groundless rumors.

If possible, could you kindly send me a free subscription for three months or some old copies of your *Review*? The news of free books sent by the United States Information Service has prompted me to ask.

S.J.K.

Army Medical Center
Shanghai
February 7, 1949

Okamura Verdict

To The Editor:

The news that Okamura was released and "proved" innocent by the War Criminal Tribunal of the National Defense Ministry on January 26, 1949 left us mum with sadness and unable to utter a word for quite some time. Could it be true that a man involved in such a detestable slaughter of the Chinese people was "proved" innocent and set free by the Government of China? Our painful experience does not allow us to forget a few incidents; if the justices of the War Criminal Tribunal are so "generous" and so easily forgetful, let us recall a few deeds Okamura carried out.

To begin with, he is the man who, during the first World War, first entered Tsingtao. This port was not returned until 1923. He was the military advisor of Sun Chuan-fang, the notorious warlord, assisting him in fighting the revolu-

tionary army. Okamura was then military attache during the Japanese occupation in Manchuria. It was he who killed the patriotic general, Tsai Kung-shih, in Tsinan. In 1937, he was commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Army in North China; under his command the Japanese army attacked and entered Hsuchow and Hankow. It was Okamura who initiated the "Scorched Earth Policy" (burning, killing, and looting), and deliberately encouraged the Japanese soldiers to destroy the lives and property of the Chinese people. In August, 1944, he became the commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Army in Central and South China, where further damage to lives and property was done. Because of his sheer cold-bloodedness, he was appointed by the Japanese as commander-in-chief of Japanese forces for the entire China theater. He carried on ruthless oppression of the Chinese people until the end of the war.

Each single word of his past history spells blood to the Chinese people. Are these facts not sufficient to prove his guilt? Or do the justices of the War Criminal Tribunal suppose that every Chinese and every righteous citizen of the Allied Powers is deaf and dumb? Perhaps they think that too many Chinese have survived through the eight long years of ruthless oppression, and that a "tiger" should be set free to kill more Chinese later. If so, history will hand down its verdict.

T. K. A.

Shanghai
February 9, 1949

By What Law?

To The Editor:

I was very surprised to hear of the recent acquittal of Lieutenant General Okamura, Japanese commander-in-chief in China in the Sino-Japanese war.

The purpose of our eight years war of resistance against the Japanese was to gain a lasting peace and to prevent wanton aggression. But the first one who urged the attack upon our nation and who came to China to command the forces against China was Okamura. Is he not a war criminal? I think he should be Number one on the list.

It will be remembered that during this war our people were killed, our houses burned, our properties plundered, our sisters raped. Loss of life and destruction cannot be measured. The anger of the people could not be appeased even by the execution of Okamura, but acquittal by the Nationalist Government turns our anger to helplessness. By what law was the judgment made? Why was he allowed to return to Japan? Did the order for his return come from MacArthur? Will he come again to kill the people of China? We do not understand these things.

The Nationalist Government should know the people of China detest this man. The Government has disobeyed the will of the people. They should be allowed to pass judgment on such criminals and punish them.

K. K. Chia

Soochow
February 12, 1949

Robbery And Pillage

To The Editor:

With life for the masses of people becoming increasingly hard during recent months, robbery and pillage have been plaguing the *hsien* of Sinhi. Each day the local press reports armed robberies, some of which are most daring and cold-blooded, even in the more densely populated places and in Kongmoon, the trading center of the *hsien*. The following cases will give you a rough idea of how active and audacious the robbers are.

When the home of a wealthy overseas Chinese in this city was broken into during the night, the family signalled a neighbor to call the police. Unfortunately the entire police force had been dispatched to a nearby village, which had been attacked by Communist guerillas, and the victims of the robbery found themselves at the mercy of the ferocious burglars, who ransacked the house to their hearts' content and made away unmolested.

A second and more sensational case concerned a gang of armed robbers who broke into a house quite near a police station. When they demanded the valuables of the inmates and were told there were none, the ruffian visitors terribly mishandled their victims. One woman was bled white from severe wounds and lacerations; her husband to avenge her delivered a fatal blow with a chopping knife to one of the robbers.

The almost incredible audacity shown in the third case is impressive. A robber, equipped with only a burnt brick, entered a goldsmith's shop. He shattered the show window, knocked down the assistant, and made off with a lot of valuables.

I am under the impression that the rampancy of robbery and banditry not only reflects the deteriorating living conditions of the masses, but also brings to the fore the impotence of the security authorities.

JOHN HSU.

Sinhui, Kwangtung
February 8, 1949

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French Student

To The Editor:

I am a French student who would like to correspond with a Chinese student. I am nineteen, and hope next year to attend Chinese lectures in the Ecole des Langues Orientales of the University of Paris.

Could you find a boy or girl (of about my age) in a Chinese university who would correspond with me? We shall write to each other in English. My address is 315 Boulevard Saint Denis, Courbevoie (Seine), France.

PHILIP DELCROIE

Courbevoie, France
February 7, 1949.

Not Intentional

To The Editor:

Your venerable magazine occasionally is full of queer words. Some of them, so-called slang, cannot be found in the dictionary while the rest, whose different meanings in the dictionary are irrelevant, puzzle me very much as none of these different meanings fit the context snugly.

Slang, though expressive, is impressive only to the natives of the country from where it comes. As your readers are mostly Chinese who have not been in America and have no Yankee friend to consult with, it is unkind to overwork slang obscure to the majority in your essays, sometimes even to confuse us. The space for your English lesson is not enough to have them all explained thoroughly. Moreover, is it worthwhile learning slang which is likely to lose vogue?

I should also think that you had better avoid too many Latin words in the text which have suitable substitutes in English because the ordinary dictionaries usually have no appendix of foreign words. There is no disparity in rhetorical relish between "by itself" and "per se." To choose the latter instead of the former is merely pedantic.

More than 10 printing errors are in the February 5 issue of the *Review*. Some of them (e.g. "in the present fighting" on page 240, column 3) are too absurd to be forgiven unless it is due to intentional sabotage.

JAMES TAGORE.

Shanghai Medical College
February 7, 1949

Against Quick Peace

To The Editor:

The present peace negotiations going on in China are not taken so seriously by the people as the peace talks held three years ago when General Marshall was here. We Chinese refer to ourselves as peace-loving people, but the continuous fighting has accustomed us to war.

Sun Fo's remark that war is but a process of getting peace is all too true. For years now we have been engaged in a Civil War. People have suffered terribly from this war, and the destruction to our national wealth has been tremendous. This war is being fought in order that a new China may emerge. To come to terms with feudalism would mean the sacrifice of all that has been accomplished. We want a real and permanent peace. It would be a blunder to sacrifice this hope for a quick peace.

Y. F. H.

Shanghai
February 1, 1949

What Humbug!

To The Editor:

Peace! What humbug! The common people passed the lunar New Year hopefully, but what followed has been a series of disappointments: The peace door half closed, the blood-thirsty fight still going on, commodity prices soaring every minute, and the standard of living of the Chinese people becoming lower.

Like other big cities in China, Sian has been hanging by a thread. Everyone here is in constant fear of being attacked. Ragged soldiers roam the streets with a heavy tread, while well-attired ladies with their fat babies are sent to other places considered "safer". Only the poor remain in the city, awaiting any catastrophe which may come.

C.C.Y.

Sian, Shensi
February 17, 1949.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 112 Shanghai, Saturday, February 26, 1949 No. 13

What Is Communist Policy?

THE great question mark in the minds of most foreigners in Shanghai today is what the future will hold, aside from a Communist-controlled government. Being only mortals, we, like everyone else, do not know the answer. However, since it is part of our business to keep track of current events as best as we can, we may be in a position of having a little more information than some of the other foreigners here whose attention is primarily focused on such matters as industry and trade.

The best way to obtain an idea of what life in the future may be like is to read the papers and listen to the radio. Also, it would be worthwhile to look up some of the more important Communist pronouncements during the last few years. The Communists, despite all their shortcomings, both those that are real and those that are imagined by many fertile minds, have had a pretty good record as far as calling future turns in this country are concerned. Probably the biggest mistake the Communists, including Mao Tse-tung, have made is in vastly over-estimating the length of time it would take for the Kuomintang to fall or be knocked apart. Aside from that, the war in China has progressed almost exactly as the Reds said it would.

While it is of course naive to assume that any party out of power will behave exactly according to its own predictions once it gets into the driver's seat, there is a way of partially checking up at this time. The Chinese Communists have proclaimed that the socialist revolution in China must of necessity be slow. They have flatly declared themselves firm Marxists, with the intention of finally communizing China. However, they have, following the lead of Mao Tse-tung, who has been credited with "China-izing" Marxism, just as emphatically stated that the path will be slow and difficult and that many years, perhaps scores of years, will elapse before China reaches a perfect communist state. Upon occasion there has been some deviation from this path. However, it now seems that the Chinese Reds are back on the old track of evolutionary communism.

In areas taken over from the KMT, there seems to be evidence that the reform in society has been slow. Government property, as well as that of the bureaucratic capitalists (read Chiang, Soong, Kung, and Chen family enterprises) has been confiscated outright. However, private shares in both government and bureaucratic enterprises have been restored to the original owners when they could be found. The property of traitors, those considered war criminals and other enemies has been confiscated. Private property of others, reports indicate, has been left alone. However, such property supposedly is subject to strict supervision in that owners of factories, stores or other establishments are required to pay higher wages and to conform to stricter laws regarding types of business engaged in, payment of taxes, etc. As compensation for this stricter control, it is reported, the Communist administrations remove unfair competition (from State and bureaucratic firms) and undertake to provide a stable and sound economy so that business and industry will prosper.

These, of course, add up to a sizeable job and the average foreigner, long used to paper plans and empty promises, may well be skeptical. However, there is evidence that in some cities taken over by the Reds the new regime is actually making an attempt to do what it has long said it would. Certainly this is a new development in this country! Also, there is evidence that in some cities, Peiping for example, all is not going too smoothly. The change-over has been accomplished in considerable confusion. There is evidence of disorganization and, in the case of foreigners, there is no official available to contact to ask questions or to facilitate daily activities. (A "foreigners' affairs" office has just been opened.) This confusion, we believe, is a natural consequence of changing administrations and may be apparent for some little time. This seems especially likely when one remembers that the Communists are just now acquiring experience with the complicated problems of city life. In their 20 odd years of administrative experience in China, they have operated almost entirely in the countryside where the village was the largest and most complex social unit. The Communists have shown that they recognize that they are to be called on for new talents since they have announced frequently that they were engaged in training "cadres" for work in cities they expected to take over. However, the military time-table has moved much faster than they originally expected and they are apparently way behind in training city take-over corps. Rumor has it that the class training for Peiping was scheduled to matriculate in April or May and that Fu Tso-yi's sudden collapse made the present deal, whereby there is a sort of joint administration in the city, necessary.

While we certainly cannot predict with any finality what the Communists will do when they get to Shanghai, we can say that it would be reasonable to expect them to operate somewhat along the lines indicated so far in other places. It is quite possible that the confusion here may be greater and more prolonged since Shanghai

is by far the most complicated city in China. However, until there is some evidence that the Communists are not following policies which have long been laid down, it seems reasonable to expect them to do more or less as they say they will.

* * *

THERE are, of course, many who will argue that the Communists will not do as they say, that the Reds, being fiends incarnate, will bait the trap with sugar and then spring it in such fashion as to make China a living hell. Such opinions, to some extent, are held and fostered by people who are partisans in this conflict and who stand to lose materially (perhaps even their heads) if the Communists catch them. Such people are not impartial observers and they bitterly attack those who try to view all sides and aspects of the situation and then present what seems to them an objective picture. Their handiwork is often blunt and open and easily detectable. However, it is also frequently quite subtle and masked as to its source. This latter type is really the most misleading in that it preys on the unsuspicious who are led to believe that they are getting the "facts", when what they actually are getting is merely a partisan opinion.

Shanghai's English-language newspapers are full of such distortions. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the editors or staff members. In most cases they are dependent upon the material provided by news agencies. Much of the time, we think that the material put out by the agencies, or even by the reporters of the papers, unconsciously conveys the "line" of some group or individual with a large stake in the Civil War. Upon other occasions it is hardly possible to excuse the paper of responsibility for careless work.

Just to illustrate this point, we have noted a few stories appearing lately. One local morning paper, day after day, has been choosing stories which might be interpreted as anti-red for major display, while relegating stories which reflect favorably upon the Communists to inside pages, if they are printed at all. For example, one story telling of favorable treatment of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, by the Communists was given relatively minor space with a small, one-column wide headline. The headline itself expressed a negative thought, reading, "Missionaries said unmolested in Red-Occupied Towns." The story, from Catholic sources, which in this instance should be reasonably reliable, described conditions in several towns taken over by the Communists. In another issue two days later the same paper carried a story with a three-column wide headline stating: "Reds Order Missions To Teach Daily Lessons In Communism." This story, in addition to carrying a much larger headline, occupied more space and was given a more prominent position than the first one. What's more, the source of the story, was most obscure, quoting "reports" from Tsinan, capital of Shantung.

Day after day similar examples may be found in the papers. Is it any wonder, then, that the reading public is confused as to what is happening in Red-occupied areas? There is ample evidence that the local English-language papers, with the possible exception of the *Evening Post*, which devotes considerable space daily to the expression of the editor's personal views, are, either consciously or unconsciously, actually flavoring their news column with more opinion than is necessary. It is all very well for an editor to be opposed to communism—we prefer a different system ourselves — but the editor should attempt to keep his political and economic views under restraint when it comes to the news columns. This is certainly true during periods such as the present when the reader is desperately in need of all the news he can get. He certainly should be exposed to stories giving both sides of questions, but the editor should not actively help him decide which to read by magnifying out of all proportion stories of little actual news value and burying important stories in obscure corners just to conform with the editor's or owner's own personal views.

These are confused times and all any of us can do is try to keep posted on daily events. A re-reading of important Communist pronouncements of the past few years, plus a systematic study of the Chinese and foreign press and, if possible, the radio, is the best advice we can offer. The press may frequently be misleading, it is true, but a careful reading should enable any normally intelligent reader to sift the important from the unimportant, the objective from the prejudiced.

Strike Leaders Executed

THE execution of three workers of the municipal bus company last week for leading a strike is about as barbarous a display of the medieval mind as we have seen in some time. The Shanghai-Woosung Garrison, commanded by General Chen Ta-ching, who must personally bear responsibility for this action, has made a very bad mistake.

Far from serving as a deterrent, this action will succeed only in further alienating the bureaucrats from the people. This is particularly serious—especially for the bureaucrats—at this time. Labor may be made docile for a brief moment, but when the explosion comes, it will be with compounded interest because of such blunders as this one.

It is true that the workers violated the provisions of martial law—the abolition of which, incidentally, the acting-president of China has ordered—but even martial law and the summary execution of its violators cannot make men work for a salary which is insufficient to buy food, let alone other necessities.

All too often, we believe, the men in high places, who have access to sources of income other than their regular salary, are incapable of understanding the plight of the poorly-paid lowly worker, the very nature of whose work makes it impossible for him to have an opportunity to squeeze or engage in other corrupt practices and thus augment his income. These employees—

who constitute the vast majority of the public servants in what remains of the Kuomintang's China — often live on the borderline of starvation. Virtually all suffer from various food deficiency ailments or diseases.

The arbitrary seizure, trial and execution of strikers under such circumstances reflects upon the authorities, rather than the workers. Local officialdom pleads that the critical military situation makes it necessary for them to rule with a firm hand, paying little or no heed to the wishes and needs of those they rule. This is the old argument advanced for three years by the Government and for three years this policy of making the people suffer now so that they may in theory be helped later has amply demonstrated its inherent bankruptcy. The opposition, meanwhile, has been following a policy of helping the people so that the people will in turn help and support it.

"STILL DISHING IT OUT"

Barrow in The Jacksonville Times-Un

The merits of these two policies have been demonstrated so clearly that any discussion at this time is more or less academic. However, it is interesting—and tragic—to observe that some people are so short-sighted and stupid that they cannot or will not recognize a bad policy even when it has led them to the brink of a catastrophe.

US Military Court

COMING hard on the heels of General MacArthur's sensational report accusing two foreign journalists of espionage activities upon the behalf of the Soviet Union, the American occupation army in Germany has announced that it is conducting secret spy trials in Munich.

The first terse announcement, made by the head of an eight-man American military commission, Brigadier General John L. McKey, shed little light upon the trials other than that strict secrecy would surround them, that testimony would not be disclosed, that the names of the accused would not be disclosed and that the verdict would not be announced. The charge against the accused, who might have been singular, plural, male, or female, for all the outside world could tell from McKey's announcement, is the sale of secret information to the Czechslovakian Government. It was further disclosed that the commission had power to impose the death penalty.

It hardly seems possible that an American court, even a military court, could behave in such fashion. We just cannot understand how the General and his seven fellow Americans on the commission, having presumably been raised in the United States where they enjoyed every possible safeguard of their personal liberty against arbitrary action by the Government, could approve of such a trial procedure. If such a system is allowed to stand, it would be possible for the military to arrest anyone, Americans or foreigners, in areas under their control and dispose of them without anyone, including the American public, being the wiser. It would almost seem that General McKey has spent too much time in Germany and is in need of a vacation back to his homeland so that he may refresh his perspective.

Apparently the American press representatives in Germany felt that they were entitled to more information and protested, because the day following General McKey's announcement, he received orders from General Lucius D. Clay, American commander in Germany, ordering him to reveal the names of the defendents and to announce the verdict. However, General McKey is apparently still standing upon his earlier assertion that the release of ordinary vital statistics concerning the trial would endanger the security of the United States. He has so far released only a minimum amount of information and, in each announcement, it is apparent that he is complying with reluctance to periodic instructions from his superiors to "loosen up."

While it is of course difficult to comment upon a trial about which so little is known, it is possible to point out the dangers of permitting any trial under such arbitrary rules. We cannot imagine just how the revelation of information such as the names, sexes, ages, and nationalities of the accused can endanger the security of the US. We cannot imagine how the disclosure of the exact nature of the charges or of the verdicts can possibly harm the US. If these men have been spying for the Czech Government, their sudden disappearance will certainly be noticed by the Czech agents contacting them. If they have been passing information to the Czechs, then of what use is it to refuse to disclose publicly the nature of the information? The "enemy" knows what information has been passed, why, therefore, is it unsafe to tell the American people?

The one possibility that occurs to us is that public disclosure of the activities of this Czech-employed spy ring might put the occupation authorities in a bad light before the American public. Perhaps the ring has wormed itself into very high and secret quarters among the occupation personnel and the disclosure of this information would bring a public clamor for a few official heads. Maybe what General McKey had in mind was not endangering the security of the United States so much as endangering the security of certain occupation officials.

While this is obviously speculation since we are almost wholly uninformed as to this case and, what's more, are several thousand miles distant from the scene, it seems most reasonable to assume that there can hardly be any logical excuse for the commission's strict secrecy. That is not the way things work in a country supposedly governed by a constitution and a body of accom-

panying laws, passed and enforced democratically by the freely expressed will of the majority.

Newsman's Visa Cancelled

ACCORDING to reports from Hongkong, the French Government has cancelled the Indo-China visa of Walter Briggs, special correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Chicago Sun - Times*. Mr. Briggs, who in the past has also been a frequent contributor to the *Review*, is reported to have said that the French officials in Hongkong gave as reason for withdrawing his visa the complaint that he "systematically opposed" Indo-China.

From the short press dispatches appearing locally, it is difficult to determine just what provoked the French action. Certainly the charge "systematically opposed" Indo - China doesn't make much sense. More likely, we imagine, what the French were trying to say was that they considered that Briggs "systematically opposed French policy in Indo-China." However, we doubt if that is the case. Briggs, like many other foreign correspondents who have visited the few areas which the French still control in what formerly was a very profitable colony, reported abroad some of the facts about French rule. This, we guess, is what the French objected to. Stories of the French opium monopoly, the success of the native revolution, the bankruptcy of France's colonial policy, etc. naturally would be objectionable to French officials. The question of truth would hardly be involved.

The US Government is currently in a dither about the trial of a Hungarian Cardinal and is leaving no stone unturned in its efforts to impress upon the Hungarian Government and people that it is most displeased by the trial, conviction, and sentence. The trial, Truman and other public figures have charged, was a farce, not being conducted fairly and in accordance with United States ideals of justice. While we personally cannot get very worked up about what Hungary does with its cardinal, or with any of its other citizens charged with treason, for that matter, Washington apparently feels differently and is willing to pass judgment upon another country's conduct of its internal affairs when it feels that American ideals of justice have been outraged.

However, it seems to us that the case of Briggs is one in which the US might well interest itself. In the first place Briggs is an American, while Cardinal Mindszenty is a foreigner. Secondly, the United States has gone on record in the United Nations as being very much interested in the treatment of newsmen throughout the world, while this, to our knowledge, is the first major show of interest in the affairs of a foreign Catholic primate.

There is, moreover, historical precedent for positive American official intervention on the behalf of an American correspondent abroad. It has been done before. During the war, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, with the official blessings of the State Department, sent a delegation abroad urging leaders in various world capitals to accept the basic principle of a free press. Many countries, including China, incidentally, welcomed the delegation and indicated that they were in sympathy with the group's aims and proposals.

When Congress passed the ECA program, a clause was written into the bill specifically stating that countries receiving such aid would open their doors to American reporters and grant them every reasonable facility to investigate and report upon the use of ECA funds and materials. France is a receipient of ECA aid. While it might be claimed that technically Indo-China is not receiving ECA help and that the provision for inspection by American reporters does not apply, this is a mere technicality since France, very obviously, could not afford her present colonial adventure were it not for ECA aid to the homeland. If the American Government is unwilling to go to bat for American correspondents abroad, whose duty it is to see and report to the American people, there is little hope for enlightened American public opinion on foreign lands and questions.

In the past, we believe, Washington officials have made considerable political capital out of the fact that some of the Eastern European countries, as well as Russia, have given summary treatment to representatives of the US press. There are adequate grounds for a protest to the French Government.

Even if there were no grounds, such as signed agreements, both official and unofficial, and precedent, we think a better case could be made out for intervening in behalf of an American reporter barred from a foreign country without specific grounds than for intervening in behalf of a foreign clergyman involved in trouble with his own government. In the case of Mindszenty, there has been little in the way of precedent, yet the American Government feels justified in complaining bitterly about the quality of Hungarian justice. We know of no protests in the past when any of Hungary's traditionally corrupt and unjust governments occasionally slapped people into jail on little or no evidence. If the US can suddenly evidence such interest in the trials of Hungarian citizens before their own courts, it can just as well evidence a little interest in the case of an American newspaperman denied a visa, virtually without grounds and certainly without a hearing, either fair or unfair.

Apology (Army Style)

THE US Army this week tried to ease down gently off the limb it had climbed out on the previous week when it charged writers Agnes Smedley and Gunther Stein were Russian spies and agents. Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein denied the charge, and Miss Smedley, long known as a fierce battler, declared she would sue General MacArthur for libel if he would waive his official immunity, whatever that may be. She also asked President Truman to make the Army apologize,

After a week-long silence during which several newspapers and commentators jumped on it with both feet, the Army finally came out with a half-hearted apology couched in typical official language so that the word "apology" failed to figure in its retraction. The Army admitted that it had no evidence of the charge that the writers were spies and agents and also said it deplored the manner in which the report was released and also regretted the journalistic style in which it was written.

This was pretty good—especially considering the fact that it was probably one of the first times the Army had ever let on that it lacked divine qualities and was therefore infallible. However, to our way of thinking, it is not good enough. Truman, who denounced witch hunts and spy scares in his campaign for re-election, should make good his promises to the electorate and make the Army *and* General MacArthur personally come out with a flat apology to Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein.

The reason we suggest this is not to rub it in or needlessly to humiliate the Army and General MacArthur before the American public, but to rectify fully the wrong that their combined blunder has caused. An apology, especially by MacArthur, would be front page news and that is what Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein deserve since the accusation was also front page news, while their denials were certainly not. Neither was the weak retraction already issued by the Army. For example, we received a clipping from the *Washington Post* concerning this story which illustrates quite well the need for a more outright apology. This item was clipped from page 12 of the *Post* and was headlined in modest type, "Woman Writer Denies Army's Spy Charge." However, on the back of this clipping was the notation, "continued from page 1" and "Red Spy Ring in Prewar Japan..." Thus, even the *Washington Post*, which is generally considered a responsible and enlightened newspaper not interested in "scare" headlines as much as some other publications, saw fit to place General MacArthur's charge on page 1 and Miss Smedley's denial on page 12!

It should be pointed out here that Miss Smedley and Mr. Stein make their living by writing and lecturing in the United States. It is almost certain that every important editor and lecture manager in America saw the original accusation and made a mental note that these two people were under suspicion by the American Government. We wonder how many of them saw—on page 12—Miss Smedley's denial and how many of them read or even saw the official jumbo which constituted the Army's retraction? In all justice to these two individuals, who have now admittedly been wronged by the US Government, Truman should act. An order from the president will also serve as a warning to government agencies which in the future might be tempted to make a grab for the headlines with similar sensational, but unsubstantiated, charges.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Trouble Over Silver Dollars

Something of a sensation was produced in Chinese financial and business circles in Shanghai last week through the publication in the *China Press* and the vernacular papers of an analysis of silver dollars recently produced in the Chinese Government mint in Nanking. The dollars analyzed were of the familiar *Yuan* variety containing the likeness of former president Yuan Shih-kai and the date of the third year of the Republic. The analysis was made in the recently installed industrial research laboratory of Shanghai College, an American missionary institution. According to the analysis made at the college the dollars tested showed a silver content about half of one percent below the Chinese government regulations of 1914 which are supposed to govern the production of coins at the various government mints. . . .

If we did not have the visual proof of the depreciation in our daily handling of the coins, the irrefutable proof of the nefarious practice is shown in the fact that since the Republic came in and the militarists got control of things, the purchase and operation of mints has become one of the chief industries of the country. Almost every province now has its mint and the position of mint director is considered to be one of the most valuable "plums" in official life, prices ranging up to $100,000 being paid for these job.

* * *

A Foreigner's Qualms

Sun Yat-sen almost succeeded in breaking foreign control of the Customs, being prevented only by the assemblage of foreign warships, a movement which, if anything, moved the Chinese closer towards reunification and increased the opposition to foreign control. Then has come the question of the cigarette tax in Chekiang. If Chekiang can impose a tax on cigarettes, then why not on oil or any other foreign product? And if Chekiang, by declaring provincial autonomy, can get away with it, why cannot other provinces do the same thing, and when a sufficient number have so voted, and the foreigner is driven to the last standing point, the seaports if such happens, and the foreigner remains on the outside looking in, then what is to prevent a unification of these autonomous provinces? The various foreign treaties one by one will have vanished. . . .

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Principles Of New Life Movement

... It is interesting to note the new interpretation given by General Chiang to the four cardinal principles of the New Life Movement—namely, *Li* (propriety), *I* (righteousness), *Lien* (honesty) and *Chih* (honor)—in the light of the campaign of resistance.

In time of war, General Chiang said, the virtue of propriety should mean strict observance of discipline. The laws of the state and the special war-time rules and regulations of the Government must be strictly observed.

Righteousness should mean sacrifice of the individual for the welfare of the state. The armed men should be ready to lay down their lives on the battlefield, while the people in the rear should contribute their wealth to the government to strengthen the country's power of resistance.

Honesty should mean the protection of material resources of the country. The policy of retrenchment should be strictly practised, with a view to saving funds of the Government.

Honor should mean bravery in participating in the national struggle against alien invasion.

* * *

Forcible Conscription Forbidden

The Ministry of War in Chungking has been instructed by General Chiang Kai-shek to institute a careful investigation into the application of the conscription law and to punish persons found to have drafted men for military service by "forcible means."

SHOULD CHINA USE TRACTORS?

R. D. Merrick

ANY consideration of attempts to mechanize China's agriculture must include the question of tractors. A large number of tractors and tractor equipment, it will be recalled, was brought to China by UNRRA under its agricultural rehabilitation program. However, this equipment, unlike other agricultural machinery imported under the same program, was considered a temporary expedient at the time. It was recognized that, after UNRRA stopped furnishing imported fuels, lubricants and spare parts for the tractors, the high cost of these items would make tractor operation and maintenance prohibitive for the average Chinese farmer.

On the other hand, it was felt that in one or two years the tractors would not only enable Chinese farmers to produce enough food to compensate for the value of the machinery and operating costs, but would help get them on their feet and thus prove to be more useful in the long run than sending food to China. UNRRA accordingly sent more than US$7,000,000 worth of tractors and other farm machinery to China (see accompanying table).

* * *

FOR a number of reasons, however, some of which would have been foreseeable if we had known more about China to begin with, these plans have almost completely failed.

In the first place, the machinery was late in arriving. Shipments of tractors did not begin to come through until the end of 1946, and major shipments of plows and other equipment were delayed until the middle of 1947. By that time, the spread of the Civil War had made tractor rehabilitation work impossible in many areas where it was most needed, such as Honan Province.

A second obstacle was political opposition to sending the tractors to their original points of allocation. Most of them had been scheduled for North China and Manchuria, where the land was adaptable for tractor use and where war devastation emphasized the need for rehabilitation. However, due to the attitude of the Central Government and UNRRA's unwillingness to send shipments directly to Communist-held areas through Communist-controlled ports, most of the farm machinery originally planned for the North is either being held in Point Island dumps or has been sent to South China and other areas far less suited to tractor projects. Thus, enormous sums of money have been wasted in financing work that has neither rehabilitated nor increased the productivity of agriculture enough to pay for a tenth of what it cost the Chinese Government alone to administer the project.

Many of these tractors are now standing idle. The rest were supposed to be utilized in so-called "reclaimed" areas where CNRRA-UNRRA dike building or irrigation programs were to release large areas of "new" land suitable for cultivation. However, as has been my experience the Agricultural Machinery Operation and Maintenance Office in Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hupeh, Kiangsu and Chekiang, UNRRA work relief rice or flour was misused to such an extent by corrupt officials that almost all of the dikes or other conservancy construction never came up to specifications and so were no protection for the crops planted with the help of AMOMO farm machinery. The most recent example has been fate of AMOMO crops last year in Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces.

* * *

NOW, with the prospect of some real agricultural reform in the offing, the question arises as to whether these tractors can be put to profitable use or whether they should be discarded. The funds for fuels, lubricants, spare parts and other items now being supplied by the UNRRA-AMOMO legacy of cotton yarn will be depleted by December of this year, and therefore any further use of this farm machinery must be on a strictly self-supporting and economical basis.

With very few exceptions, tractors will prove uneconomical in areas south of the Yangtze River because especially favorable conditions must exist for tractor use in rice growing country. Such conditions, for example, do exist south of Canton in the Pearl River delta region near Ming Ling Tong, where 100 percent of the land is under cultivation and where there is consequently no place to graze water buffalo. Also, the rice paddies in that area are the largest and most level in China, a paddy sometimes covering two or more acres with very low walls separating one paddy from another. A 10 to 20 percent increase was obtained from experimental six to eight inch deep tractor plowing as compared with the yields from fields plowed by water buffalo and wooden plows which can only scratch the fertility of that deep alluvial soil.

In Kwangsi province, on the other hand, the soil is so poor that it cannot possibly yield enough to pay for the expense of tractor maintenance. Moreover, native animals are plentiful and cheap, and year-round grazing is available. They are also, as elsewhere, producers of much-needed fortilizer.

* * *

ANOTHER possibility, as yet unexplored, for the use of tractors and other agricultural machinery, is in crops demanding special operations which cannot be done as well by using water buffalo or other native cattle-drawn tools. If the use of tractors in such instances gives better yields for crops which sell for a high price per harvested mow (such as sugar cane in good soil and under irrigation), they may prove profitable even in areas such as South China and Taiwan where intensified methods and the type of crop (mostly rice) as a rule has made the fields too small for the use of machines.

Would-be operators should figure on a minimum "land" length of 200 meters. In some instances, this would entail joining together two or more paddies (by plowing across paddy walls where not too high) into longer stretches of land for fuel economy. Fuel consumption, using a 10-20 size tractor such as Ford-Ferguson or Farmall A, would run to about one gallon per mow for complete soil preparation, including plowing, double disking and harrowing. (These last two operations need to be performed twice for more plastic soils, but not for lighter soils.) Five to

Februa·y 1, 1949 Disposal of UNRRA Donated Farm Machinery—in Units

Bought by UNRRA for AMOMO		CNRRA sales	AMOMO sales	on hand	(or should be)
4900	Pumps without engines	—	—	4900	*
4900	Pumps with engines	1300	640	2160	*
1296	Tractors with equipment ..	—	66	1230	*
20	Well drilling rigs	—	—	200	*
200	50 hp. diesel engines	—	200	—	*
300	4 hp. „ „	—	300	—	*
85	5 hp. „ „	—	85	—	*
200	hammer & plate mills	20	60	120	*
20	flour mills	—	10	10	*
20	combines	—	2	18	*
20	threshing machines	—	—	20	*
200	rice hullers	—	20	180	*

(*) Includes sold and on hand in regional projects as well as in Liberated Areas, which has now taken over in Honan, Northeast, and in Anwei about 478 tractors and also other equipment and machines.

six mows can be prepared daily or, if just plowing is involved, 10 to 12 mows, instead of the 30 mows possible in large fields of medium structure and fertility such as abound in North and Northeast China.

In suitable areas, the tractor may also be used efficiently in cultivating row crops or seeding with a grain drill but, as such places are few in South China, soil preparation before seeding is about the best use to which the tractor may be put. A group of farmers, however, could have a centrifugal pump or rice huller or other uses to which tractors could be put at times when there is no field work.

If a tractor is to be used for nothing except soil preparation, however, at least 800 mows must be prepared and they must give an average yield of at least 50 catties per mow in rice or the equivalent in order to make its use profitable. If it is figured that an operator for the tractor and necessary services costs about 15 catties of rice, fuel and lubricants about 20 catties, and depreciation and spare parts 15 catties, it can be seen that soil preparation in South China costs much more than in the United States or even North China, where productivity is so much greater that operational costs run only about one third as high. Fifty catties per mow, however, is considered a safe margin for soil preparation cost in South China over and above the cost of doing the same work with native cattle in localities where they are cheap and pasture plentiful.

However, local figures are necessary in each case because there are so many additional factors to be taken into consideration, such as poor field drainage, distance to fields, soil structure and texture, contour, rainfall, etc.

* * *

THE first step needed is to make a survey of the possibility of tractor use in the southern provinces and to take applications from groups of farmers who are willing to organize and who can supply the primary conditions, as outlined above, for successful exploitation of the tractors and other equipment owned by AMOMO. When the limit of such possibilities is made clear, all other machines and equipment should be shipped to the North, Northwest and Northeast to localities meeting the conditions of greatest need and most economical use. Such a plan would undoubtedly mean the reshipment of most tractors from the southern provinces, with the possible exception of Kwangtung and Taiwan.

This is directly counter to the actions of officials of the Board of Trustees of the Rehabilitation Administration, who have been accelerating the shipment of supplies southward. During the last two months, BOTRA has sent more than 700 tons of AMOMO supplies (including some 15 tractors) and huge quantities of National Agricultural Engineering Corporation supplies to Canton. Inasmuch as both AMOMO and NAEC already had sufficient regional set ups in Canton and Liuchow (Kwangsi) to serve the needs of the farmers there, these latest shipments are just a reflection of the "grab while you can" policy of certain Kuomintang elements.

* * *

NORTH of the Yangtze, AMOMO has regional centers, together with maintenance, repair and supply offices, at Pengpu, Loho, Peiping, Hankow and Mukden. Through these centers, surveys should be made of the possibilities for agricultural mechanization in the Northern provinces. Since the opportunities for tractor use are so limited in South China, the existing centers there should be continued on a smaller scale for repair and maintenance of tractors, pumps and other machines; and surplus equipment should be shipped north for the establishment of sub-stations to the present centers.

In these northern areas, despite the fact that conditions are almost universally more favorable for tractor operation, certain principles must be observed if the projects are to be successful. Centrally located tractor projects should have a year-round schedule if they are to be more economical than individual farmers or groups owning tractors and operating them themselves. In the winter, when the ground is covered with snow or frozen, all machines should be overhauled, repairs made and, worn parts rebuilt or replaced. The tractor operators should accompany their machines to the central shop and do the demounting and assembly work themselves under the supervision of trained mechanics, who in turn should do the more specialized repair work. In this way, not more than 10 or 12 mechanics would be needed for every 100 tractors, including a blacksmith and helper and a welding and soldering expert. While machines which do not need a complete overhauling can often be conditioned at the team headquarters, it is nevertheless desirable that repair and maintenance centers be located, not in the provincial capitals (as most of AMOMO's are) but in an agricultural area preferably within a 50 kilometer radius of the tractors and combines. Where large groups of tractors are working farther away, sub-stations should be set up, but under rare circumstances is it profitable to have shops built for less than 100 tractors unless there are a large number of pumps and other AMOMO machines being operated in the area. The foregoing should not necessitate any great changes in the system of operation now employed by AMOMO.

* * *

FIELD operations, however, should be changed greatly. Much better and cheaper service can be furnished by well trained operators working on a piece-work basis. There should be five or six tractors, with the same number of operators, working under a vice-captain. Each of these teams should have an accountant whose duty it would be to keep track of the work done each day and pay the operators accordingly and to issue fuel to each operator according to norms of fuel usage. No job of plowing should be charged to the farmers or credited to operators unless a job sheet is signed by 1) the owner or representative of the farmer group, 2) the team accountant, and 3) the vice-captain in charge of the team. The norms of accomplishment and of fuel usage

must be worked out separately for each project because different soil types and different conditions take varying amounts of power, especially in plowing.

The vice captains should be versed in organizational procedure and methods so that they can encourage the farmers to organize and pool their holdings in order to have the fields of each culture planted together instead of having a few mows in each of hundreds of small farms that would need to be cultivated separately. How the farmers divide the crop, whether on the basis of how much land each has pooled, or on how much labor each family has put into the year's work is a question that should be settled by the farmers themselves before tractor operations start.

No matter what the farmers' system is, the important point for the success of the tractor project is that it receive "payment in kind." This is the only possible solution in a country without a gold base or a stable monetary system and for an organization that is dependent on foreign supplies. No project should attempt to charge more than is absolutely necessary to carry on operations, and the final bill for the year's work should not be computed until the end of the year when the necessary data is available.

In order to make initial fuel purchases and cover other expenses before the first crop is harvested, the Government should advance credit for the tractor projects. Credit should be given on the basis of budgets which each project should submit in accordance with explicit plans for fulfilling contracts already negotiated with the farmers. For this reason, it would be wise for the Government to use the tractor projects in developing certain export crops such as soybeans so that, after the payment in kind is sold by the projects, foreign exchange can be realized for the purchase of whatever foreign supplies are needed.

In North and Northeast China, where there are iron and steel foundries, all tractor projects having steel lathes should be encouraged to make as many spare parts as possible. Each project and sub-station should operate blacksmith shops where plow shares can be kept sharpened and where bolts, nuts and other parts can be made. Homemade edges should be welded to plow shares to preserve them and, in general, nothing should be ordered from abroad that can be made in China.

* * *

THE greatest problem, and one that concerns agriculture, is the development of indigenous sources of motor fuel and power so that there can be a wide development of agricultural mechanization. The ideal solution for China, with its scanty supply of fuel, is, of course, hydroelectric power and electric tractors. But, for the present, China would do well to distill wood alcohol and to produce gasoline and kerosene from coal as the Germans did during the last war. There are also great possibilities in adapting gasoline and diesel engines for use with gas generators, thus making use of the great and plentiful Northeastern forests. Still better, as was done in Shanghai before the war, China should manufacture special gas generator type engines which give sufficient power on gas and are more efficient than either gasoline or diesel engines converted to gas generator power. Nevertheless, the AMOMO tractors and trucks can be converted and operated successfully on gas generators by using about 15 percent of the usual consumption of gasoline to enrich the gas. If these methods are exploited to the utmost, the importation of foreign fuels could be cut to the minimum.

However well this problem is solved, it is still evident that tractors will rarely be used in China in locations where cheap animal fodder abounds, as it does in the hilly and mountainous country covering over 90 percent of China's surface. As a matter of fact, livestock raising should be developed even more in order to make use of the rich verdure of areas that cannot be cultivated for crops. Therefore, the financing of tractor projects at this stage should be undertaken with the utmost caution and only in places where the right conditions exist for their economical use.

* * *

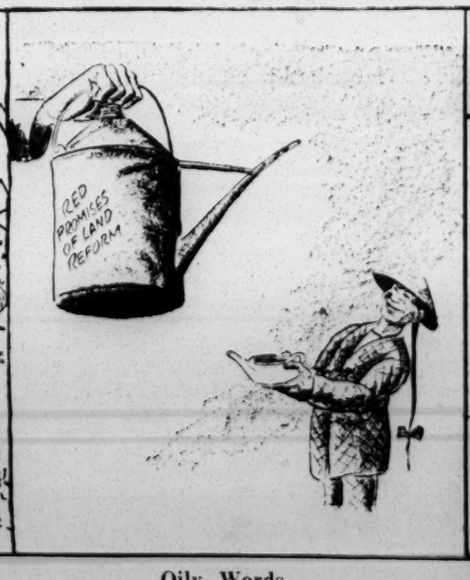
IN order to effect the program outlined above, it is necessary to have a strong AMOMO central organization which can be closely knit with other related organizations, such as the Agricultural Industries Service, the National Agricultural Engineering Corporation, etc. AMOMO must also conduct an organizational program along the lines of education, research and supplies and services. Many of the machines brought to China by UNRRA were either incomplete or unsuited to particular local conditions, and therefore there is great need for a research program.

Any piece of equipment that has been tested and proved satisfactory and for which there is demand should be manufactured by the NAEC in required quantities and distributed by AMOMO, along with post-sale instruction and repair services. If such a procedure had been followed, the NAEC certainly would not be embarked on a project to manufacture five horse power gasoline engines instead of a type which could use local or cheap fuel.

Since the NAEC, AIS and AMOMO have one purpose, the mechanization of agriculture, they should be completely amalgamated, preferably under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, in order to provide better service to the Chinese farmer.

US Cartoonists Take Dim View . . .

Think You Can Ride Him?
.....Dowling, in the NY Herald Tribune



Oily Words
.....Louisville Courier-Journal

Stalin's Horn of Plenty
.....Louisville Courier-Journal

THE KUOMINTANG AND CHINESE DYNASTIES

C. C. Lin

IN China, during the last stages of a dynasty, localized regimes often have been established by local authorities or warlords who have wanted to preserve their privileges as long as possible. These regimes have been characterized by the following:

First, the government was changed from a centralized to localized control.

Second, they represented the privileged class which, because of its corruption and inefficiency, was no longer competent to govern.

Third, from beginning to end, there were conflicts, potential or actual, within the regime, and although there was a common enemy, unity and cooperation could not be attained in fighting it.

Fourth, the capital was often moved from place to place or took shelter under another localized regime or in another country. Thus, there was a refugee government.

Fifth, such regimes were short lived and ended by either surrendering to or being annihilated by their enemies.

* * *

Ming Dynasty

THE Ming dynasty may be taken as an example. In 1644, when Cromwell was fighting King Charles the First of England, and Louis XIV had been crowned for just one year, the capital of the Ming dynasty in Peking was first invaded by peasant revolters led by Li Tzyh-cheng (李自誠) and then occupied by the Manchus. A localized regime was established at Nanking soon after the fall of the north capital, with King Fu (福王), or the Lucky Prince, as emperor. But this localized regime lasted for only about a year.

In 1645, Nanking was also invaded and the Lucky Prince was captured by the Manchus. After the fall of Nanking, there were three main localized authorities which successively claimed the right to succeed to the throne of the Ming dynasty.

* * *

Three Claimants

FIRST was King Lu (魯王), who was made the regent or supervisor of the state at Shaohsing in Chekiang province in the summer of 1645 by Chang Hwang-yen (張煌言) and others of Chekiang. Next was King Tang (唐王), who was chosen to be emperor in the bissextile June of the same year. He assumed the throne at Foochow, then called T'ien-hing-fu (天興府), a special name for the refugee capital. He is known in history as Long-wu-ti (隆武帝), in accordance with his year-name. A third localized regime was established in 1646 by King Kuei (桂王), whom historians call Yung-li-ti (永歷帝), or the Emperor Yung-li.

All three regimes apparently belonged to the privileged class. The kings were descendants of the corrupt Chu family of the Mings and the supporters were either local authorities or warlords. The only exception was Chang Hwan-yen, who was a member of the literati, but in a broad sense literati should not be excluded from the privileged class.

King Tang of Foochow was first supported and then betrayed by Cheng Chi-long (鄭芝龍), formerly a pirate leader of Fukien, who surrendered to the Manchus for a higher position in 1646, leaving the poor refugee emperor to be captured and killed.

King Kuei, or Yung-li-ti, was supported first by the governors of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and next, after the governors had been killed in the war, by General Li Ting-kuo (李定國), who had been a former follower of the peasant leader or "bandit" Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠).

The local authorities and warlords used the king as a tool. As long as it was necessary to have a localized regime to maintain their position, they supported him, but when something better came along they ousted him. Cheng Chi-long's action was a good example of this.

* * *

Cheng Cheng-kong

CHENG Cheng-kong (鄭成功), or Koxings, as the Japanese called him, the son of the traitor Cheng Chi-long and his Japanese wife, might be the only one who was qualified to be called a national hero at the end of the Ming dynasty. But he did not earn this title because he had supported the localized regime at Foochow or because he had marched a squadron on to Nanking, in both of which action he failed. He was a hero in Chinese history because he conquered Formosa by repulsing the Dutch from the island in 1661. He died there in 1662, and his son and grandson continued to hold the territory until 1683, when it was turned over to the Manchus.

Nevertheless, Cheng Cheng-gong should be held responsible for much of the inter-regime conflict. In the battle at the mouth of Yangtzekiang, he refused to cooperate with Chang

. . . *Of Chinese Communist Victories*

Yessir, That's My Baby .....*Louisville Courier-Journal*

Which Has Which by the Tail? .....*Los Angeles Times*

Wait Till He Gets To The Next Stall .....*Dowling, in the NY Herald Tribune*

Hwang-yen, a supporter of King Lu, because he himself was a follower of King Tang. It is said that King Lu, who took shelter in Taiwan after drifting from one island to another, was drowned in 1662 by the Cheng family.

Cheng Cheng-gong also opposed Kung Kuei's regime. Looking at his actions from the standpoint of history, it seems likely that his struggle with the Manchus was motivated more by his ambition to assume supremacy over Southeastern China than by any loyalty to the fallen Ming dynasty.

Such regimes were certainly doomed to fail. King Lu ruled over Shaohsing merely one year. He then became a refugee until his death in Taiwan in 1662. King Tang lost Foochow the same year that he made that city the capital, and Cheng Cheng-gong moved it to Taiwan, where it lasted some years longer. King Kuei was the most miserable. He fled from Kwangtung to Kwangsi, to Yunnan, and finally to Burma, where he was sent back to be killed by the traitor Wu Shan-kuei (吳三桂) in 1662. Thus ended the tragedy of the localized regimes.

The people did not care about dynastic wars. The longer the war went on, the more they suffered, and they hoped for a quick end of the regime and the dynastic struggles.

* * *

Kuomintang's Future

NOW another dynasty, the Kuomintang, is approaching its end. Mukden and Peiping are gone, and Nanking is destined to fall into the hands of the Communists. What will be the future of the Kuomintang?

As with most dynasties in Chinese history, the end of the Kuomintang must be accompanied first by a change from a centralized government to certain localized regimes.

Although the Kuomintang set up a nominally centralized government in Nanking in 1927, it was never really united until shortly before the war of resistance against the Japanese. Mr. Hu Man-ming died just before the outbreak of the war, and Mr. Wang Ching-wei became a leader of the puppet government just after the war began. With the departure of these two persons, General Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang, and it was united under his control.

However, nearly three years of civil war has made it evident that Chiang Kai-shek is no longer able to control the members of his party. Although he is the Generalissimo, he cannot command all the high officers of the army belonging to the Kuomintang. Although Tsung-Tsai, or Director General of the party, he cannot unite the different cliques in it. It was inevitable for him to be ousted when the war situation reached its lowest point.

Since the Kuomintang is now split, the Kuomintang's Government is no longer centralized. It will be dismembered into several sections in accordance with both geographical units and personal relations. Each section will be a localized regime. There will be a feudalistic system to connect the leaders of each section with one another, and the heads of the more powerful sections will dominate the weaker ones.

How many localized regimes there will be cannot be estimated in advance. However, there will be two principal groups of localized regimes. One will consist of the sections of the Southeastern provinces and will support Chiang Kai-shek and his immediate followers; the other will embrace the Southwestern provinces and will follow the Kwangsi Clique, or the so-called "Kuei-hsi."

Both groups, of course, represent the privileged class. The Chiang group stands for the "Four Big Families," while the Kwangsi group is in the hands of the old warlords in Southwest China, whose privileges

are directly or indirectly inherited from the old Peking Government.

Conflicts between the Chiang group and the Kwangsi Clique are now visible. The Kwangsi group is one of the old enemies of Chiang Kai-shek, and they did not become friends until the war with Japan. They became enemies again last year when the Chiang group supported Dr. Sun Fo, rather than Li Tsung-jen of the Kwangsi Clique, for vice president. It is said that Chiang was forced to retire from the presidency by some of the local warlords, of whom the Kwangsi General Pai was the most important element.

Although Chiang has retired, prudent observers take a "wait-and-see" attitude as to whether he will disappear from the political scene or return to his post at some time in the future.

Let us interpolate a story. In December, 1931 after the outbreak of the Mukden incident, General Chiang was compelled to resign his post as president of the National Government. However, although he gave up his position, he did not relinquish his power. To a group of his intimate followers, all of them warlords, he gave positions as governors of many provinces surrounding the capital. The central government at Nanking was turned over to Lin Shen, with Dr. Sun Fo as premier. But Lin and Sun could do nothing without support from the local warlords, and subsequently Wang Ching-wei took over the premiership after consulting with Chiang Kai-shek. In the late spring of 1932, Chiang became Generalissimo and the National Military Council was established in order to give him back the power he lost when he resigned as president.

Again at this time, Chiang has appointed some of his immediate followers as chairmen and commanders of pacification headquarters in many important provinces and it is obvious that he is repeating what he did in 1931 and 1932. He has not really given up his power; on the contrary, he has emphasized his grip on Southeastern China and has paved the way toward a resumption of power at any time he likes.

This increases the obstacles facing Acting President Li Tsung-jen, and it is doubtful whether he can exercise any command over the provinces where Chiang's influence is still predominant. It also deepens the gap between the Chiang group and the Kwangsi clique. While they are maintaining nominally normal relations and are under the same government, as soon as anything causes a break in their relations the Government will divide. Each group will then call itself the direct successor of the Central Government at Nanking. The Kwangsi clique would base its claim on the fact that it has the Acting President, and the Chiang group on the fact that it has the Retired President. That is why the Chiang group has emphasized again and again that Chiang's retirement is not a resignation.

* * *

History Repeated

WHEN the Government becomes divided, the tragedy of the end of the Ming dynasty will be repeated. The Kwangsi clique will follow the path of King Kuei and Li Ding-kuo, while the Chiang group will go the way of King Tang and Cheng Cheng-gong.

The Kwangsi clique can link itself with other localized regimes in Szechuen, Kweichow and Hunan provinces, where the influence of the old war lords is deeply rooted and where there is a long tradition of sectionalism. For common safety from the "Red" danger and for the preservation of their feudalistic heritage, they will be forced to unite, with the Kwangsi clique as the de jure leader. This group can also maintain contact with elements in India, Burma, French Indo-China, etc. and obtain aid from those powers which are anxious to avoid a Communist-dominated Asia.

Next comes the question of where the center of the Chiang group will be. Again and again, Nanking has announced and denied the removal of the capital. The Executive Yuan has gone to Canton; yet it is reported that Acting President Li has

instructions to call Dr. Sun Fo, the President of the Yuan, back to Nanking, and the Legislative and Control Yuan have likewise protested the Canton move. The Acting President remains in Nanking, while the Retired President is in Fenghwa. Where is the capital?

It is more true than not that wherever Chiang goes is the capital. It is said that the radio and telegraph service connecting Fenghwa with other cities is very busy. It is also said that before Dr. Sun Fo went to Canton, he flew to Fenghwa to consult Chiang. Obviously, the local authorities of the Southeastern provinces take orders from Fenghwa rather than Nanking.

* * *

Next Move?

But the war situation will not allow Chiang to stay long at Fenghwa. Where will he go next? Canton, which Nanking has chosen as a refugee capital, is not safe, for after the Communists gain Hankow and Wuchang they will penetrate Hunan via the Canton-Hankow railroad and go on to Canton. Fukien or Taiwan seem preferable.

When Chiang was a general on the staff of Hsu Chung-shih, a commander in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Northern Expeditionary Troops at the time Foochow was invaded in 1922, he went to Foochow and was appointed magistrate of a certain district. It is not known whether or not he accepted the appointment, but the elders of Fukien often have talked about it. In Kushan, or the Drum Hill, in Foochow, there is a stone on which four words were carved after Chiang became President: "Chi-kai-ju-shek" (其介如石), which comes from the Chinese classic, the "Book of Changing," meaning, "His firm purpose in life is as strong as a stone," and includes the meaning of Chiang's name, Kai-shek. So Chiang is known in Foochow, and should he take shelter there he would be warmly welcomed by the elders, although the radical youngsters might think otherwise.

But no matter whether the Chiang group takes Taiwan or Fukien as its center, the Chiang regime is due to follow the way of King. Tang and Cheng Cheng-gong of the fallen Ming dynasty. The Chiang group is using Taiwan as a base from which to prepare a counter-attack—an attempt which Cheng Cheng-gong made and in which he failed. The Chiang regime has made Fukien a stepping stone to link the island base to the mainland—a project that Cheng Cheng-gong also tried and in which he failed.

Eight Chinese words may help explain why the Kuomintang will be defeated: "Shih Wu Dou Chih" and "Ming Yu Er Hsin" (士無鬥志民有貳心) which mean "The demoralization of the troops, and the separation of the people." This is the ending of every dynasty in Chinese history. How can the Kuomintang be an exception?

Life In Red China:

A Chinese Professor's Report

(This open letter, which describes living conditions under the Communist regime, was written by Mr. Wu Han, formerly a professor at Ching Hwa University, and was published originally in a Hongkong newspaper. It was reprinted in the Shanghai paper SHANG PAO on February 13. One of our readers, Mr. Tu Ting-mei, translated it and sent it to us with a note that Mr. Wu was one of the 55 persons who, together with Marshal Li Chi-sun, Shen Chuen-ju, Ma Su-lung, Kuo Mo-jo, Tan Ping-shan and others, wrote the article "Our Opinion On The Present Situation" in January of this year—Editor.)

"Dear Friends:

"YOU may feel it strange that I, who lived among you, have suddenly disappeared. But, to tell you the truth, I have come to a new place. Indeed, everything here is new, and, what is more, I have made many new friends.

"First of all, let me tell you something about the liberty we are enjoying here. Formerly, a new book could be read only behind a closed door, a safe place was necessary for discussing a problem, mail articles were often lost, and facilities for travelling were usually paralyzed. In this new place, all these fears and troubles exist no more. People discuss problems in a loud voice, and no one interferes with the reading of books. In fact, people here have long forgotten the problem of liberty, for they feel the problem no longer exists. It is only I, a new comer, who am still haunted by the fear of being deprived of my liberty. I shall visit the various liberated territories so as to teach myself and to adapt myself to the new circumstances.

"When we were together, it was seldom that we had the relish of meat on our table. But here meat is a common fare for every person. In the villages, as well as in the towns, you may see meat steaming in people's bowls. Compared with the state in Shanghai where people struggle to buy meat, this is really a very striking contrast.

"The prices of commodities are very steady. In the 50 days I have been here, there has been almost no change. The government is in possession of all staple products—foodstuffs, cotton, etc. Whenever the market for a certain product is weak, the government buys in at a higher price. If the tendency is the other way, it will sell out its stock. If anyone tries to hoard any kind of material, he will certainly lose his capital, and ruin himself.

"Since the land reformation, all farmers have cultivated their own land, and their living standard is highly improved. Since I have been here, I have seen no person in tatters, nor have I seen a beggar. All loafers have been put to work, helping the government in productive enterprises.

"What you will feel more strange are the papers published here. At first you may not be used to them, but gradually you will think they are really papers of the people and for the people. They are concerned with experiences acquired from land reformation, explanations of commercial and industrial policies, and criticisms of the execution of these policies. There are also questions asked by the people, the government's answers to these questions, and other items of a similar nature.

"You may be anxious to know about the 'problem of thought' in these new territories. Strange to say, this problem does not exist here. A person is entirely free to embrace any faith or creed. All religious orders exist together, including the Roman Catholic Church and various sects of the Protestant Church. No one interferes; the government neither encourages them to attend religious services nor prohibits them from attending. Above the door of every church there are always four characters: (思想自由) 'Szu Hsiang Tze Yu,' meaning 'liberty of thought!'

"The government protects the ownership of private property and for this purpose has promulgated a regulation consisting of 10 articles. As an example of the Government's observation of the regulation, a certain magistrate paid a farmer $3,500.00 as compensation for injury to his horse.

"Other than certain essential medicines, there is no foreign merchandise in the markets. True, American jeeps and American ammunition may be seen, but these materials were brought to China through the Nationalist Government.

"Under the land reformation program, former estates have been divided into small pieces and distributed to the farmers. Thus the class of landlords has been exterminated, and they, like others, each have a small piece of land. There are no serfs; each is his own master and respects himself as well as others.

"I have been very happy—so happy that words can hardly express my feeling. Now I can write only a short letter, but it will not be long when we can be together again and I can tell you many more interesting things."

Malayan Federation Meets Opposition

Ngiam Tong-Fatt

IN his New Year message to Malaya, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said the Federation Agreement between the Colonial office and the Malayans, signed last January, was substantially acceptable to all who regard Malaya as their home.

"I do not close my eyes to the debit side," Mr. Creech-Jones stated. "The miserable burden of violence and intimidation which the peaceable peoples of Malaya have had to bear ....But even in these things there is hope and opportunity. The courage and loyalty of the Malays and the response of the peoples of Malaya has been for me one of the most heartening things of the past year."

* * *

Secession Movement

However, it is well known that the people of various races in the former Straits Settlements, particularly those of Penang and Malacca, are not happy about the Federation Agreement. There is a strong movement afoot toward secession from the Federation in these two settlements, and Secession Committees have been formed to make a strong plea for a return to the prewar status.

But there is strong opposition to this from the Malays. At a mass rally in Penang on January 8, Dato Onn bin Jaafar, president of the United Malays National Organization, declared that if the Malays did not agree, there could be no secession.

"As far as I know," he said, "the Malays have no desire for Penang or Malacca to break away from the Federation. Let other people claim what they wish. If it is justified, we will grant it; but if it is not, we will turn it down. It is up to us to decide."

This speech did not pass unnoticed by the local press. The *Straits Times* declared editorially: "In Penang, Dato Onn really said no more than that the Malays will resist unjust claims. It was the way he said it which the domiciled communities will not like. We much prefer the phraseology which the leader of the United Malays National Organization used 12 months ago in a New Year message: 'I can give the assurance that the Malays are prepared and ready to work together with the peoples of all races and communities to recreate a land of hope and promise, working towards the goal of self-government on a sound foundation of understanding and goodwill.' That is the United Malays National Organization's declared policy, and it certainly represents Dato Onn's personal outlook.

"It is going to be hard, however, for the United Malays National Organization to persuade the domiciled communities that this is in fact its policy if the party's leader finds it necessary, when on the public platform, to become almost chauvinistic, as apparently was the case in Penang."

* * *

Goodwill Committee

NOTWITHSTANDING all the political differences among the various communities in Malaya, it is gratifying to note that the formation of a Malay-Chinese goodwill committee, with the Commissioner-General, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, as liaison officer, has resulted from a January meeting of Chinese and

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Malay leaders from Singapore and the Federation.

The Malays are represented by the Mentri Besar (Prime Minister) of Johore and the President of the United Malays National Organization, Dato Onn bin Jaafar; the Mentri Besar of Perak, Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang; a Selangor Legislative Councillor, Inche Saleh Hakim; a Kedah Malay leader, Dr. Mustapha bin Osman; and the Secretary-General of the United Malays National Organization, Inche Zainul Abidin bin Haji Abass.

The Chinese are represented by Dr. Lee Tiang Keng (Penang), Mr. C. C. Tan (Singapore), Mr. Tan Cheng Lock (Malacca) and Mr. Yong Shook Lin (Selangor).

* * *

Well Received

The formation of a Malay-Chinese goodwill committee was well received by the Malayan peoples. The Malay Legislative Councillor and president of the Penang United Malaya National Organization, Mr. S. M. Aidid, commented, "Deeds are more important than words. I hope the committee will not only discuss, but will take concerted action, to cement Sino-Malay friendship." Mr. Aidid continued by saying that the economic and educational status of the Malayans was not as advanced as it should be, and that the Chinese, he hoped, would co-operate with them in both these spheres.

Mr. Cheah Cheng Poh, Hon. Secretary of the Penang Straits Chinese British Association, said that this reaction would mean further friendship, and that no effort should be spared to demonstrate this and to put Sino-Malay relations on a solid basis.

The *Singapore Free Press*, in a leading article on "A New Bid for Racial Harmony," said that all good Malayans should give the warmest welcome to the efforts of the Malay and Chinese leaders who met to foster interracial harmony and discuss with frankness common problems on which existing differences of opinion may well prove to be much narrower than has sometimes appeared to be the case during the past three years. "May the seeds of better understanding which have now been planted," the article concluded, "flower and bear fruit in abundance."

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The Week's Business

THE past seven days have seen little activity on the Shanghai market as most businessmen have preferred to wait until after the rumored economic reform measures are published before taking any important moves.

A hint that something definite is being planned can be seen from Finance Minister Hsu Kan's activities during the week. He has been in Nanking, Shanghai, Canton and other cities, presumably to secure final approval for his reform measures from various high officials who are now scattered all over the country.

Although the money market remained easy with the blackmarket interest rate fluctuating between GY50 and GY70 per GY1,000 per day, quotations for financial articles and commodities actually dropped. Gold bars, which were quoted at GY110,000 on February 16, dropped to GY100,000 per ounce in the early part of this week. Greenbacks, which were quoted around GY2,000 to GY2,200, dropped to GY1,800 during the same period. Prices of yarn, cloth, newsprint, chemicals, and others continued to rule weak because of apprehension on the part of the businessmen over the rumored new measures.

Although the actual measures may be different from the rumors, it is interesting to note that, according to businessmen, the Government will quote the exchange rates for different cities daily, and for Shanghai the rates will be around GY1,000 to one silver coin, GY2,000 to one US dollar, and GY100,000 to one ounce of gold. It was because of these rates that financial quotations and commodity prices ruled weak.

This, together with rumors that trading in gold, silver and foreign exchange will be legalized and that the import controls will be loosened, made many businessmen rush to buy Exchange Clearance Certificates, pushing up the rate from GY1,500 on February 16 to GY1,900. It was reported that the Central Bank of China was a heavy buyer of these certificates. Whether the Government bank bought for short covering or for the profit it could get because of its advance information is hard to say.

Another important point in connection with the reform rumors was a report that the Government may issue half dollar silver coins to be circulated side by side with Gold Yuan as a means to check the issuance of too many Gold Yuan notes. Well-informed circles state that China possesses some 150,000,000 ounces of silver and this large reserve will be used to turn out silver coins.

It was also reported that Government officials and military men may be paid in part by these silver coins. As there are at least 5,000,000 persons in the employ of the Government or the army, it is estimated that the stock of silver would last for two months.

Because of a feeling that the reform measures could hardly succeed in stabilizing China's toppling economy, businessmen started to sell short Gold Yuan notes again on February 23, the day before the schedued announcement of the reform measures by Minister Hsu Kan.

In the half-hour period immediately following the close of the market at noon on February 23, financial quotations and commodity prices increased. Gold went up to GY120,000 per ounce and the US dollar increased to GY2,200. Silver coins advanced from GY1,300 to GY1,400.

One reason why little can be expected from the new reform measures is the fact that there is practically no government machinery to enforce them. Far more political and economic force than Chiang Ching-kuo was able to muster in Shanghai during the days of the introduction of the Gold Yuan currency would be needed to carry out the new currency reforms. Unfortunately, the military situation in recent months has deteriorated far more than that of last August and the political machinery of Nanking has disintegrated too far to be able to enforce any law.

With note issue the only means of meeting the mounting expenses, it is no surprise that financial quotations and commodity prices are continuing to rise. According to latest reports, the total note issue has reached GY100,000,000,000, while a Government spokesman put it at GY20,000,000,000. When converted into US dollars according to the black market rate, China's total issue was only US$10,000,000 according to the official figure, or US$50,000,000 according to the unofficial estimate. This is very small when compared with the total issue of CN dollar notes in 1937 before the war, which was CN$1,400,000,000 or US$500,000,000!

It is only natural for prices and quotations to increase far more than the actual rate of inflation because of the speculation and hoarding that accompany it. Consequently, it takes little imagination to predict a skyrocketing of prices in the weeks to come.

The following table gives a comparison of the quotations on February 16 and February 23:

	Feb. 16 GY	Feb. 23 GY
Gold	110,000	120,000
US Dollar	2,000	2,350
Clearance Certificate	1,500	2,150
Silver Dollar	1,600	1,300
20's Yarn	360,000	380,000
Rice	10,000	11,000
Wing On Textile .	200,000	262,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Nat'list Peace Moves Weakened By Internal Rifts; G'mo Active

THE Nationalists are having a hard time trying to make peace. For the Government, peace-making presents a two-fold problem. On the one hand, it is doing its best to re-open peace talks with the Chinese Communists. On the other hand, as the result of reported differences between Nanking and Canton, the Government needs internal peace in order to be able to maintain a solid front in bargaining with the Communists. The Kuomintang has reiterated its determination to seek an over-all peace and stressed that it would resist a localized peace under any circumstances. But the independent actions of some of its members and their open defiance of Li Tsung-jen's orders for sweeping political reform have actually weakened the Kuomintang's attempt to conclude an over-all peace. Competent observers are inclined to suspect that the officially sponsored movement against localized peace is nothing but a deliberate attempt to sabotage the peace efforts and continue the war.

The arrival in Peiping of the peace mission headed by Dr. W. W. Yen is the signal for a free and frank exchange of views between the mission and Communist leaders on a great variety of subjects. Latest reports from the ancient capital seem to indicate that the mission was highly impressed with the sincerity of the Communists and was quite optimistic about the future of peace negotiations. It is understood that Dr. Yen and elder statesman Shao Li--tze, grand old man of peace, are expected to leave for Shihchiachuang shortly to confer with Communist leader Mao Tze-tung. The meeting with Mao may clear up the situation and pave the way for a round-table conference to discuss peace.

* * *

Vital Conferences

WELL-INFORMED sources in Nanking disclosed that a five-man conference has been scheduled to take place in Peiping presumably to iron out last minute difficulties. Participants in this conference are said to be Chou En-lai and General Yeh Chien-ying of the Communist Party, Shen Chun-ju of the Democratic League, Marshal Li Chi-sen of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, and Shao Li-tze, representing Nanking.

It will be recalled that Shen Chun-ju and Li Chi-sen recently made an extensive tour of Communist areas, and both are now believed to be in Shihchiachuang. It is significant to note that in their recent broadcasts, the Communists have stressed the fact that they are conferring with other democratic factions on the question of peace and are making preparations together with them for eventual peace talks.

Another important conference is being arranged in Nanking. In order to patch up the differences within the Kuomintang and present a united front in dealing with the Communists, President Li Tsung-jen is reported in the press to have invited Premier Sun Fo, General Chang Chun from Szechuen, General Chang Chih-chung from Lanchow, General Pai Chung-hsi from Hankow, General Cheng Chien from Changsha and General Ho Ying-chin to come to Nanking. An official source in the capital disclosed that the conference would discuss the principles for peace with the Communists.

* * *

Trip To Canton

PRESIDENT Li Tsung-jen's surprise visit to Canton brought to light the gravity of the rift between Nanking and Canton. Foreign observers in Canton believed that Li's main purpose in going south was to put pressure on Sun Fo to return to the capital with his cabinet and give the president a greater degree of co-operation in the present crisis. If Sun Fo remains obdurate President Li, it is alleged, will back up his pressure with a possible threat of censure at the Legislative Yuan's next session in Nanking. Li's statement, issued on his arrival, that all political parties must "bow to the peace plea" is considered to be aimed directly at Sun Fo and his colleagues. It may also have been directed at Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, foreign observers said.

Reuter reported February 20 from Canton: "The decision of the Legislative Yuan opened the way for two possibilities. First, anti-Sun Fo agitation is likely to take on an official nature, climaxing most probably in a vote of non-confidence in Sun Fo's cabinet, and forcing Sun's resignation. Such a political crisis, it is pointed out, would throw a monkey-wrench into current efforts to make peace with the Communists. Second, Legislative Yuan members favoring removal of the Yuan to Canton may rally a 'rump session' in Canton in open defiance of Nanking."

A reshuffle of the cabinet is believed certain no matter whether Sun Fo steps down or not. If Sun refuses to play ball, President Li Tsung-jen would be forced to appoint a new premier who could be expected to cooperate with the President. Even if Sun Fo stays, his cabinet with have to be overhauled anyway, because several ministers of the CC Clique and of the Young China Party have resigned.

* * *

Power Behind Throne

THE split between Sun Fo and Li Tsung-jen was further complicated by the fact that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in spite of his "retirement", is still displaying more than usual interest in Government affairs. And it is an open secret that Sun has the backing of the Generalissimo. It was rumored that Sun Fo and Wu Te-chen flew to Fenghwa to confer with the Gimo before finally making their decision to move the cabinet to Canton.

A *UP* story dated February 19 from Nanking revealed that the Generalissimo is as active as ever. The story read in part: "Chiang Kai-shek, officially in temporary retirement, is still giving orders. He is retaining enough presidential powers to give him a veto in the forthcoming peace talks with the Communists and is exercising these powers daily to keep the way open for his return to office. During his 21-year career as China's national leader he has retired twice and returned twice ..

"The small town of Chikow in Fenghwa, Chiang Kai-shek's native place where he is living in a converted sort of temporary presidential headquarters, is assuming the appearance of a third splinter faction in the split of the Chinese capital (Nanking and Canton being the other two splinters) with heavy incoming and outgoing telegraphic and telephone traffic. The traffic brings in reports and sends out instructions. During the first three weeks of Chiang Kai-shek's retirement, when telegraphic facilities were not yet installed, two special planes shuttled back and forth between Chikow, Nanking, Shanghai and Canton, bearing part of the busy traffic. Recently one powerful transmitter was sent to Chikow from Nanking and plane shuttle service was cancelled."

Li Tsung-jen Adopts Stiffer Attitude

THE attitude of Acting President Li Tsung-jen toward the Communists seems to have stiffened. In contrast to his previous statements about talking peace with the Reds unconditionally, Li, in addressing a large group of legislators and Government leaders in Canton, made the opening of peace negotiations conditional on the Reds' not crossing the Yangtze River. He warned that if the Reds attacked south there would be no possibility of carrying on peace negotiations.

Control Over Army & Bank

THE *UP* also reported that the Generalissimo is still controlling the Army and the Central Bank. "Besides his control of the Kuomintang in his capacity as party director general, he is still retaining military power," the dispatch said. "He is in constant telegraphic and telephonic contact with the National Defense Ministry in Nanking, receiving reports on the military situation and giving instructions for important troop dispositions and appointments of army and divisional commanders for newly-trained and organized units. The decision of the Ministry of National Defense to abandon Tsingtao on February 8 was made on his order. Yen Hsi-shan, Taiyuan commander who came to Nanking to urge rescinding the decision to ensure ample food air drops to his beleaguered citadel, had to fly to Chikow to see him on the matter.

"He is also retaining his interest in the Central Bank of China and on several occasions telephoned instructions to the bank governor in Shanghai for the removal of gold and silver to safer areas despite Li Tsung-jen's order to keep specie in Shanghai. Li Tsung-jen, who was supposed to take over all presidential power, now has barely more than a free hand in pushing a policy of opening peace talks with the Communists. Besides this, he has practically no other powers. Military power is still in Chiang Kai-shek's hands. Police and economic powers are in the hands of Sun Fo and his cabinet, who would listen more to Chiang than to Li. Several reforms ordered by Li Tsung-jen last month are mostly ignored by local authorities. For example Chang Hsueh-liang and many other political prisoners are not freed, banned newspapers and magazines are not allowed to resume publication, martial law in areas far away from the war zones is not lifted."

* * *

Li On Spot

THE *Associated Press* observed that the Generalissimo's activity has placed Li Tsung-jen in a difficult position. It said:

"Some informed sources in Nanking describe Chiang Kai-shek as the biggest problem confronting Acting President Li Tsung-jen in his efforts to reach peace with the Communists. Reports reaching Nanking from Chiang's place of retirement say that the Generalissimo is unable to keep his hands from the reins of government he left six weeks ago. His activities are increasing steadily, as his restlessness mounts. They include daily telephone conversations with key leaders and military as well as political and economic officials who, while technically under orders of acting President Li Tsung-jen, are still personally loyal to the Generalissimo.

"When Chiang left the presidential office he had the genuine intention to separate himself completely from the Government and let Li Tsung-jen have a full chance to work out a peace with the Communists, according to an official source. But, as the days go past without a definite development, Chiang is listening more to those within the Government who are telling him that the only hope for a united China is his return to power. This is being reflected in his increasing contacts with various officials both in Nanking and Canton. This situation is causing great concern to Li Tsung-jen and his supporters. It is raising doubts in their minds that the group which is continuing in close contact with the retired President would join in any agreement which might be negotiated with the Communists...."

In this connection, it is interesting and significant to note that rumor has it that acting President Li Tsung-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi are planning to go to Fenghwa to talk matters over with the Generalissimo.

* * *

Internal Peace Needed

IN addition to the rift between top Government leaders as stated above, peace at a lower level is needed in the provinces. In Szechuen, a powerful movement is under way to kick out Governor Wang Lin-chi, who is known to be trusted follower of the Generalissimo. General Liu Wen-hui, governor of Sikang, is said to have sent several regiments of his troops to the suburbs of Chengtu, capital of Szechuen, to back up his fight for the governorship of the province. Meanwhile, several commanders of the provincial peace preservation corps issued a public statement accusing Governor Wang Lin-chi of corruption and mis-administration.

The situation was further aggravated by the transfer of General Hu Chung-nan's troops from Shensi to Szechuen. The Szechuen provincial council already has voiced opposition to the entry of Hu's forces. It was pointed out that there was no need whatsover to send "outside" troops to Szechuen at the present time and that the discipline of Hu's units is "notorious." The faculty and the student body of the Szechuen University in Chengtu have refused to vacate their premises to make room for General Hu's headquarters.

General Hu has invited the chairman of the Szechuen provincial council to Sian for a personal talk, and it remains to be seen how the difference will be patched up. It is interesting to note that General Hu Chung-nan is one of the most trusted subordinates of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Opposition to the transfer of Hu's troops is indicative of a forthcoming struggle between the local elements and the Gimo's faction.

* * *

Compromise Suggested

LEADING major foreign powers in a movement to try to get along with the Chinese Communists, the British have made it clear in recent weeks that they are ready to do business as usual in China.

The British-owned *Far Eastern Economic Review* during the week spoke out in favor of a compromise with the Reds in China. The journal wrote, among other things:

"The time has come to compromise with Communism or face the consequences—World War III. . . No longer can one afford to fulminate against Communism in China or elsewhere. In China the Communists have conducted themselves most credibly....

"Without foreign trade and foreign help the new masters of China will not succeed with rehabilitation of the devastated country. Therefore relations with foreign nations should be expected to be correct if not cordial."

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Chinese Magazine Roundup

World Outlook

IN view of current charges that the United States has been interfering in China's domestic affairs, it is both informative and interesting to learn that the Kuomintang, according to the *World Outlook* of February 5, has also been busy trying to influence internal politics in the United States.

The magazine charges that the Kuomintang spent quite a lot of money on the Republicans in the last presidential election, saying: "According to the most reliable information, the KMT spent some US$2,000,000 on behalf of Dewey and the Republican Party in last year's American presidential election. This sum was spent both in direct contributions to the Republican headquarters and to various Republican candidates. It is alleged that President Truman obtained definite proof of KMT activities through the FBI, as a result of which he became greatly annoyed with President Chiang."

The magazine further alleged that Madame Chiang Kai-shek is doing her best to influence top American defense leaders through General Albert Wedemeyer.

"The recent apparent inactivity of Madame Chiang in America is deceptive inasmuch as she is actually very busy, especially among military circles," it states. "Major General Chu Shih-ming is helping her out in the work, as General Chu was formerly China's Military Attache in Washington and therefore knows most of America's military leaders well. In this respect they use the argument that, with the communization of China, American lines of defense in the Pacific will be seriously threatened. Their main objective however, is to try to join up with the anti-Marshall camp. It is alleged that General Wedemeyer and Bedell Smith (US Ambassador to Moscow) are both against the policy of Marshall, as they are for adopting the bolder policy of a frontal attack against the USSR.

"It has been reliably learned that Madame Chiang recently directed General Chu to call on Defense Secretary Forrestal. In the course of the interview Forrestal expressed his sympathies for the present predicament of Chiang but pointed out that the problem of helping Nanking is completely dependent on Truman and Marshall. In case Chiang is able to convince Truman and Marshall that giving increased aid to Chiang will not get the US into military difficulties or obstruct the program of the Western Union, the Department of Defense would be willing to oblige. Wedemeyer is also known to have said something of a similar nature. At the present juncture Wedemeyer appears to be the principal link between Madame Chiang and American military leaders."

Another type of Kuomintang activity in the United States, the magazine reveals, is an attempt to make more pro-Nationalist converts of Congressmen.

"The important mission of trying to influence the American Congress is part of the work of the Chinese Embassy in Washington," it says. "The main line of strategy is to join up with Republican Congressmen, to keep in close touch with Southern separatist Democrats and to win over by bribery certain other Democratic Congressmen. It is the Chinese plan to try to make the Chinese problem the center of debate when Congress opens in the early part of February and by so doing, to utilize the American Congress as a means of propaganda for gaining assistance for the reactionary government of China, thus causing a reversal of Truman's policy at present and Roosevelt's policy of the past."

1949, THE YEAR OF THE COW

This cartoon, from the Hwa Shang Pao in Hongkong, predicts a happy new year. The doves bring peace, the bat brings luck, the cocks announce the "good tidings of the people's victory" and the cow brings sufficient food and clothing.

Efforts to "buy off" American businessmen by alluring promises of special privileges and trade opportunities, the magazine charges, is also part of the long-range Kuomintang plan to create a strong pro-Nanking group in the States. The article continues:

"Aside from attempting to influence American military leaders and the American Congress, KMT agents are also engaged in enlisting the help of American businessmen. Pei Tsu-yee, as the financial representative of the KMT in America, is solely responsible for this aspect of the work. His approach is very simple, namely, to promise American businessmen whatever privileges they may want to have in China in return for their assistance in gaining increased American aid. Unfortunately Pei has been invariably unsuccessful. The American businessmen's answer to his line of sales talk is very much to the point, namely, they are already fed up with KMT business propositions since Chiang is not known to have kept his word. Of all the different kinds of KMT activities in the States, Pei Tsu-yee probably failed more miserably than any of the rest."

The magazine goes on to disclose that Church dignitaries are also trying to enlist sympathy and support for the Chinese Nationalists.

"The recent arrival in America of Bishop Paul Yu Pin," it said, "carries with it the important mission of attempting to influence the Catholic Church in America."

* * *

Truth Seeking

THE *Truth Seeking* magazine of February 15 protests the action of the military court of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense in acquitting Lieutenant General Yasutsugi Okamura, Commander-in-chief of Japanese forces in China during the Sino-Japanese war. It writes:

"In staging such unheard of clownish buffooneries, China probably enjoys the distinction of leading all modern nations. As is generally known, the recent Japanese aggression against China may well be taken to be unprecedented both in size of area occupied and in number of people killed, injured or wronged. It is thus indeed a miracle for a Chinese Court to declare that the chief culprit of this foul deed of aggression is 'not guilty' after thousands of lives had been sacrificed and untold sufferings had been borne for the achievement of 'final victory.' In this world you must either be right or be wrong, so if the assailant is not guilty then the assailed must be guilty. Or in other words, oh ye lords of Nanking, to declare that Okamura is not guilty is similar to saying that President Chiang is guilty.

"Well, shall we not then wait for a future Japanese Court of Justice to declare that all Chinese leaders in this war of anti-aggression should be hanged?

"It is alleged that certain big shots of the Chinese Government, together with their American masters, are of the opinion that, with the kind of experience gained by his killing of thousands of Chinese, Okamura should be considered a godsend who can be employed to direct a mixed force of Chinese and Japanese troops to exterminate the Chinese Communists. In the meantime, a fresh batch of secret agents can also be trained by Okamura to penetrate into the very marrows of China.

"All hunters are aware that, even when forced to run for its life, a snow-white rabbit will still refrain from stooping to get its skin smudged. When those who pride themselves on being progenies from 'Huang Ti' debase themselves to this extent that they are even willing to address the robber as Papa, we really have nothing more to say."

US Magazine Roundup

Harper's

CHRISTOPHER Rand, writing in the January 1949 *Harper's* on "The No Man's Land of Asia," discusses present conditions in China's border territories—Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria.

Rand says: "The broadest spread of Soviet influence today is not in Europe or the Middle East, but in the frontier zone that lies below Siberia and Russian Central Asia. Here the Russian border is more than 4,000 miles long, running inland from Vladivostok to the Pamir Mountains, the center of the ancient world. It fronts on a great variety of terrains —mountains, deserts, farmlands, steppes, forests, industrial areas—and a great variety of peoples, all of them technically under the Chinese flag, but many of them non-Chinese in race, language, and culture. Manchuria, the heart of Asiatic power politics, is in this border zone. So is Mongolia, the home of the old nomad conquerors, and Sinkiang, the traditional Central Asiatic buffer.

"In all of them there are now Communist or pro-Soviet movements that hold territory by force, in defiance of Chinese authority. Each is gaining in strength, and the Chinese government seems incompetent to deal with them. The border zone, with an area equal to all non-Russian Europe, seems destined to join the Soviet world before long."

* * *

Sinkiang

IN discussing Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan, Rand says that the Chinese have claimed dominion over this territory for over 2,000 years "but have had effective control for only some 500, and this intermittently. At present the ruling Chinese minority is about five percent of the total."

After tracing the various activities of the British, Russian and Chinese in Sinkiang since the latter part of the 19th century, Rand describes the revolt of the natives in the Ili valley in 1944, which, he says, was stopped late the next year with the help of Russian mediation. The truce, he says, gave China "the essentials of sovereignty" but promised "a great deal of local autonomy to Sinkiang as a whole." This truce was never implemented and, according to Rand, "the Ili zone is now in effect a separate country.

"The Ili party," he says, "has organized leadership, trained in politics, propaganda, and warfare; it represents the nationalist aspirations of Sinkiang as a whole; and it has the prestige of backing by the only strong power in the neighborhood."

* * *

Mongolia

TURNING to Mongolia, Rand recalls that when the Manchu dynasty fell in 1911, Outer Mongolia "demanded and got its autonomy. Theoretically it remained under the Chinese flag, but in all practical respects it was independent." In the 1920's, he continues, the area "came under a Marxist government" and the Mongolian People's Republic was formed; and "in 1945 its complete independence was recognized by China."

Since 1944, no unbiased foreign observer has visited the country but, Rand says, reports from a trip made there by Henry Wallace and Owen Lattimore during that year and information from before the war indicate that "the country has gone through considerable economic development, led by Russian advisers . . . As in Russian Asia, Marxism is apparently engineering a transition from nomadism to settled, industrial life."

Rand continues:

"The drifting away of Outer Mongolia left two other Mongol territories in China's sphere, or at least outside Russia's. One of these was the strip of plains that runs down the western side of Manchuria, from Siberia to the Great Wall. The other consisted of the Inner Mongolian provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ninghsia, a band lying between Outer Mongolia and the Great Wall . . .

"Outer Mongolian influence has spread into western Manchuria, where its only rival is a government set up under Chinese Communist auspices at Wangyehmiao, about half way down the Mongol strip. The relation between these two movements—communism via Outer Mongolia and communism via the Chinese—is obscure, but they seem to be cooperating for the present."

Rand declares that the Chinese government's position in Inner Mongolia is weak, with Chinese authority existing in many parts simply at garrison points.

"The Chinese following" he says, "is limited to a few princes, lamas, and rich Mongols who prefer any future, however poor, to communism; and they are of little help because they cannot arm and organize themselves. The Mongol country in Manchuria is flooded by communism already, and Inner Mongolia is becoming so. The important question now is not whether communism will prevail there, but whether it will be communism under Outer Mongolian, or Chinese Communist, or some kind of independent leadership.

* * *

Manchuria

DISCUSSING the third of China's border areas, the rich and varied territory of Manchuria, one-sixth the size of the US, and the "root of all the modern Asiatic wars," Rand says: "By now the Communists have gained control of all Manchuria and we may reasonably expect it to have an unassailable Communist regime, owning allegiance to the Chinese Communist party, but with a strong flavor of Manchurian leadership and with a special position toward Russia. The Manchurian Communists are linked economically to Russia by the Chinese Eastern Railway, which runs through their capital of Harbin, and on which heavy traffic has been reported moving for over a year—Manchurian raw materials going to Siberia, Russian manufactured goods coming back. Some observers also think there is a special tie through Li Li-san, the Manchurian Communists' top political authority, who differs from other Chinese Communists in having spent the past 15 years in Moscow, rather than in the Chinese countryside. It is even argued that Manchuria will set up as an independent country when it goes Communist. But the best experts are inclined to doubt this. They think it will be part of China politically, but with strong autonomy and with an understanding that Russia has a special interest there."

* * *

Minorities

IN summing up Nationalist China's attitude toward the border areas, Rand finds that the Kuomintang pattern is to "ram its views into border areas by force," and to use those who "represent Kuomintang interests." Because of this, he says, "it is understandable that the minorities prefer almost anything to domination by Chiang Kai-shek."

Rand lists three factors as contributing positively to the shift of minority allegiance in these border areas—the Russian or Communist expansion, the revolutionary force of Marxism acting in backward societies, and the pull of economics. Of Russian or Communist expansion, which he says has been carried out through diplomacy and power politics, Rand declares that "the agents of Russian nationalism have reason to congratulate themselves." With regard to the spread of Communism as an idea, Rand refers to the repressive rule by aliens in these areas, the bad local governments, and the outmoded landlord system, and says, "Marxism offers a formula whereby old nomadic and farming peoples can be modernized without losing their their identities, an appeal the Kuomintang conspicuously lacks." On the third factor, the economic pull, he points out that "it has been all Russia's way," for the flow of raw materials to Russia and consumers' goods into the border territories has meant comparative prosperity for the areas concerned. These factors, he says, are basic and "are all in tune with the current postwar world. It is hard to see how they can be reversed except by another great war or a completely new Kuomintang policy."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE necessity for cultivating an atmosphere of peace and for effecting drastic political reforms was stressed by the Chinese press. The mouthpiece of the local chamber of commerce advised Premier Sun Fo to step down.

* * *

Peaceful Atmosphere

THE *Ta Kung Pao* opined that in order to facilitate the realization of peace, it is necessary to cultivate an atmosphere of peace. The paper expressed regret that, in spite of President Li Tsung-jen's order for sweeping reforms, the local authorities have turned a deaf ear to the President's appeal.

"After Acting President Li's order for the release of political prisoners," the paper said, "it is true that many such prisoners have been set free in various parts of the country. But the restoration of freedom to such persons as Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng is still being delayed and held up by the competent local authorities, while in some places new arrests are still being made. Recently, the Nanchang Garrison Headquarters has even announced the enforcement of press censorship, restricting the freedom of the press. These facts show that the various local authorities have not been able to appreciate the intentions of the Central Government, and not only have they failed to make sufficient efforts to help cultivate the atmosphere of peace, but have in some cases obstructed its development."

The paper raised objections to the theory of seeking peace by means of preparing for war, pointing out that this theory does not make sense at all.

"In recent days," it said, "the theory of 'making war preparations in order to achieve peace' has gained much publicity. The theory sounds all right, but actually it is most fallacious. The reason is obvious. During the serious fighting in the last three years, a state of war has been in existence and continues to exist to the present moment, and the Government has certainly done a great deal more than being 'prepared for war.' Even now, though the Government is advocating peace, it has not relaxed its war efforts."

* * *

Political Reform

COMMENTING upon President Li Tsung-jen's appeal for political reform as part of the Government's plan for bringing about internal peace, the Kuomintang-controlled *Shun Pao* said that, since much has already been said and written on this subject, the most important thing now is to do something about it.

"Acting President Li Tsung-jen in a broadcast statement last Tuesday evening reiterated the Government's determination to seek peace and to carry out political reform," the editorial said. "He specially stressed the need for political reform, the cleaning up of official corruption and the tightening of military discipline. He has indeed taken the words right out of the mouths of all the people in the country today.

"In discussing the political situation in China of recent years, there is unanimous opinion among domestic and foreign observers about the evils of official corruption and administrative inefficiency, facts which have not been denied even by the highest authorities in the Government. But although reforms have been introduced now and again, a new situation has never so far been successfully brought about. What is the crux of the problem? Obviously it is the dislocation of the relationship between the Government and the people. Those holding high authority in the Government have from the very first only sought to enlist the services of men from among the small circle of old and new bureaucrats, and these officials have all along carried out a policy of dallying with the situation and maintaining the established order of things. They have never come into contact with the people, they have never given a thought for the people, and they have failed to discover real talent from among the large masses of the people. Frankly speaking, most of the civil servants of the middle and lower ranks are law-abiding and conscientious workers, and the so-called corrupt and inefficient officials are limited to a small number who indulge in illegal and evil activities, exploit their positions for self-aggrandizement, and will do anything to achieve their personal objectives. If only this small portion of undesirables can be eliminated, this small group of parasites wiped out, the Government administration will immediately be improved."

Ta Kung Pao

The paper called upon the Government to make a thorough job of housecleaning, saying: 'If the Government is not prepared, with the greatest determination, to disregard personal relationships and deal with them impartially, these undesirable members within the ranks of the Government will still not be eliminated. We express the hope, therefore, that Acting President Li, in his efforts at political reform, will recognize clearly the situation."

* * *

Resignation Demanded

THE *Shang Pao*, generally regarded as the official organ of the local chamber of commerce, came out into the open to demand that Premier Sun Fo get out to make room for a more capable man.

In the opinion of the paper, Sun Fo has created much confusion and uncertainty during the past two months in his capacity as president of the Executive Yuan. Charging Sun Fo with talking big and acting small, the paper said: "Sun Fo's cabinet talked about securing an honorable peace. But Sun proved himself to be a man who has the head of a tiger and the tail of a snake. The Communists had hardly approached Nanking when he lost his presence of mind and fled to Canton with his cabinet. At present we do not know where the Government is located. The administrative machinery seems to have come to standstill. What kind of government is this? We have never seen the like of it before. The people have not yet lost their sense of balance, but the cabinet is all in confusion. How can Sun Fo defend himself before the public?"

The paper continued: "While in Nanking, Premier Sun advocated peace. Having gone to Canton, he began to advocate war. Acting President Li is left alone in Nanking to maintain the Government, and the public are led to suspicions that there is discord within the ranks of the Government.

"We would like to ask Premier Sun: What are your intentions? What is your policy? Do you advocate war or peace? Where are you setting up the Government, in Nanking or in Canton? Are the orders of the Government to be carried out according to the wishes of the President or those of yourself? Will you please think over whether or not you are capable of carrying on. If you cannot carry on, why don't you give way immediately to another official with greater capacity, and with a greater sense of responsibility to shoulder the colossal task?"

What US Papers Say

CONGRESSIONAL consideration of financing the Marshall Plan for a second year and Soviet attacks on the proposed North Atlantic pact were discussed in the US press. Comment on the Far East was fairly light.

* * *

Full Steam Ahead

THE *Christian Science Monitor* declared the Marshall Plan was "America's greatest bargain" and said there should be no question about Congress appropriating money to finance it for a second year.

"There cannot be many questions in Congress as to the success of the program," the paper said. "To be sure, the future is complicated by the need not only to supply Europe with machinery and raw materials to better the existence of its people, but with arms as well to defend the improvement.

"This need, too, is a tribute to the success of the economic program. But it does mean that both American and European efforts must be divided between productive measures and measures for non-productive defense.

"Fortunately, the trend of aid to Europe already points to a basic change in the European picture. At first, the bulk of shipments under the Marshall Plan was food and agricultural products—food for immediate consumption, agricultural products needed to bolster food production. By last fall, at least half the shipments were industrial. Europe was being retooled for production. This progress was buttressed by improved crop conditions and vital increase in factory output.

"Prospect of a huge dollar deficit in Europe even at the end of the Marshall Plan period in 1952 beclouds these gains somewhat. Likewise Americans are disappointed that European governments have not committed themselves more deeply to economic cooperation among themselves.

"But neither of these factors should militate against going ahead full steam with the program that has paid such huge dividends in its (first) year of operation. Inter-European trade will lessen Europe's dependence on dollars to some extent and the gains which Europeans realize under such cooperation, as they have already achieved, may well persuade them to carry cooperation further."

* * *

Plain Talk

THE *Philadelphia Inquirer* praised Secretary of State Dean Acheson's denunciation of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial and his denial of Soviet assertions that the North Atlantic alliance is an "aggressive" move, saying his were "plain words" and should "convince the Russians that the American people have no intention of being diverted by Communist propaganda."

The paper added: "People of other nations, too, will welcome this new evidence that the official voice of America has given up soft words and complicated arguments in dealing with the Kremlin. On these questions, and many others, the Soviets are wrong, and it's a healthy thing to tell them so . . .

"Nor are Americans alone aware that the real purpose of the North Atlantic alliance is not aggression, but defense against the threat of aggression which has been made all too clear by the pattern of Soviet expansion. It is nonsense for Moscow to say that formation of a regional defensive alliance is in violation of the United Nations Charter. The right to make such arrangements was spelled out very clearly in the Charter, which the Soviets and other nations ratified . . .

"It is not only to safeguard their own borders, or their gradually improving material condition, that the nations of Western Europe are forming a mutual assistance pact. They, and the United States, too, are trying to protect their freedom.

"The United States has asserted its leadership in the long war for freedom by helping to rebuild Europe through the Marshall Plan—at a cost of billions of dollars—so that liberty can flourish. We are the moving factor in the North Atlantic alliance."

* * *

Korean Admission To UN

THE *New York Times* supported the application of the Republic of Korea for UN membership and felt the Soviet government should neither oppose it nor seek admission for the North Korean regime.

"The argument in the Security Council over the admission of a Korean Government to the United Nations" the paper said, "does not reflect so much a division among the Koreans themselves as a division between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world. The two conflicting governments there—the UN-established republic in the South and the Russian-sponsored government in the North—do not reflect the wishes of the Korean people. They are the creations instead of the two great opposing blocs . . .

"It is difficult to see what valid argument the Soviets can make for recognition of the North Korean Government or against the membership of the Republic established in the South after a free election. The latter does represent the expressed will of the two-thirds of the Korean people who reside in the South . . . It is not the fault of the Koreans, or of the United Nations, that the election of last May was held only in the US occupation zone. The Russians refused to permit one to be held in the North . . .

"A Soviet veto of the Republic's application will not further Russian aims for establishment of a Korean Government friendly to the Soviet Union.' Its effect probably will be to oppose, to solidify anti-Russian feeling in South Korea. Certainly it can only widen the breach between Russia and the majority of the rest of the nations of the world."

* * *

Calamity-Howlers

THE *Denver Post* noted the change in tactics used by persons who have advocated all-out aid to China, saying:

"Now that the Chinese Nationalist Government is fleeing Nanking, American advocates of all-out aid have dropped a there-still-is-time line and are indulging in an orgy of recrimination and breast-beating . . . This is not the product of reason nor is it conducive to straight thinking. All-outers never did offer a blueprint for success, any guarantee or even warrant that money sent to Chiang would not go the way of previous moneys—down the Chinese rathole. All this aside, it would be helpful of calamity-howlers to offer some suggestions as to the future, rather than carping on the death of an impossible program."

In a discussion of reasons for the Communist Army's victories in China, the *Kansas City Star* declared: "The Chinese Communists have fought a smarter war than the now severely battered Nationalists. Their record of having won every one of half a dozen major campaigns in China since last October is proof that the Reds have been superior, both as strategists and tacticians. The combat leadership of China's Communists has been far more effective than that of the legal Government's defenders. This probably has been the most decisive of various factors responsible for China's engulfment by communism."

The *Des Moines Register* concurred in this, saying: " . . . the only conclusion one can draw is that Chiang and his generals threw the war away. Outward tactics, confusion of command responsibility, Governmental corruption, and serious under-estimation of Communist strength led to overwhelming defeat. Where inspired leadership was needed, it was lacking."

The *New York Herald Tribune*, looking at the situation in China from the standpoint of "poverty and population", warned against accepting superficial solutions for such "exceedingly complex" problems and said: "If extreme poverty could be eliminated in China, the appeal of Communism to Chinese peasants, who have most conservative inclinations when moderately prosperous, would be eliminated at the same time."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXII

THIS week, we shall turn our attention to the questions sent in by our readers, some of whom are old friends, some new—Chinese John the Baptist, although hardly new to the pages of the *Review*, has sent in to this department his first question:

Deadpanned: Means, "in a straight-faced manner". "Dead" is without life, therefore motionless, with no expression—calm, showing no emotion; "pan" is a vulgar term for one's face, countenance, expression. This word usually applies to comic actors, who deliver funny lines in a serious or straightforward way, thus making them more humorous. By extension, therefore, the word applies to 1) a statement by a political or private person which the writer thinks was meant humorously or ironically, but which was said in a serious manner; or 2) a statement which may have been made seriously, but which the writer, by the use of this word, thinks was wrong or foolish—and thus *should* have been made ironically or jokingly.

Our old friend S. K. Yang asks about the following:

Munitions, arms, ammunition: "Munitions" comes from a French word meaning ammunition, also military stores of all kinds (see "materiel"); "arms" means instruments or weapons of war; and "ammunition" means generally any material that can be used in warfare, in offense or defense; or, more specifically, the projectiles thrown against an enemy, such as bullets, shells, grenades and bombs. In common usage, "munitions" (or the word that has lately become much used, "materiel") means warlike instruments in general; "arms" means those weapons carried by soldiers; and "ammunition" means the bullets or cartridges used in those arms.

Cinch: As in, "it's a cinch, there's a lot more private money salted away..." A cinch is an easy or sure thing; usually employed in connection with a bet. Thus, the writer might have meant here that in his opinion, there is considerably more money put in safekeeping by individuals than is supposed (and he is willing to back this opinion by money). "It's a cinch" means, "it's easy", "it's sure", "it's certain" that....

Pollyanna: Originally, the heroine of stories by Eleanor Porter who was portrayed as a girl of irrepressible optimism who found good in everything. Anyone, that is, who is bound to see the bright side of things; usually connected with lack of convictions, as in the quotation ("amiable pollyannas with no backbone or conviction").

To stay put: A colloquialism meaning to remain where one is. To stay is to remain, not to move; the added "put" conveys the idea of being forced into the place where one remains, to be placed there—thus reinforcing the notion of immovability.

Put on the spot: "Put" here again means "placed", forced; "on the spot" refers to an embarrassing position. In the early days of Chicago gangsterism, "to put on the spot" meant to erase, rub out, kill a member of the opposing faction; owing perhaps to the decline in vigor of these legends, or to the violent events occurring since then, this phrase has lost its sanguinary meaning, and now indicates not so much a violent death at the hands of gunmen, as a position in which one is confronted by accusations or questions about one's actions or ideas.

* * *

MR. A. L. Chen, another old friend, takes us rather severely to task about the Lesson in the January 22 issue—the one dealing with simple, compound and complex sentences. He maintains that all readers know these elementary facts. May we have comments on this from others? It seems to us very difficult to devise the perfect English Lesson: As we have pointed out, grammar can be found, and very cheaply, in countless English grammar books; individual words and expressions—except those few which are so colloquial or so new that they do not appear in the standard dictionaries—can easily be found, with exhaustive definitions; and as for analysis of style, we do what we can, but again we remind our readers that we depend upon them for examples and texts.

* * *

WE shall conclude this Lesson by pointing out some errors in an interesting letter which a reader very kindly sent in. We hope that he will not take these corrections amiss; he writes very well indeed; but we notice small faults that seem typical, so we wish to correct them, in the hope that this will benefit others as well as the writer:

Concur on: "Concur with" should be used; as in the sentence, "Teachers of English will presumably concur with the statement that students can hardly show great interest in the study of grammar."

Treated: Do not say, "treated of as they should be"; better, "(Grammar texts) are not being treated as they should be." Again, instead of "Grammarians seem to prefer treating of this subject....", "treating this subject" is preferred.

The tense: Do not use the article when referring to the general subject of "tense". Use the article when referring to a specific tense, as "the past tense"; but, as in the sentence, "Tense, which has proved to be a great difficulty to Chinese students,...." the article should be omitted.

More or less: As given, the sentence reads, "Students usually find memory work more or less as a dread." Omit the "as"; on the other hand, this idea could be more crisply expressed by: "Students usually dread memory work." It is better to express the idea in as few words as possible.

Drive....at a long distance: The sentence refers to lists of words which the writer maintains have no interest for students. This, instead of "(Lists) are often seen to drive the students at a long distance", is better expressed, "(Lists) often repel students." Ordinarily, in this sense, "drive at" is not used; "drive to (or toward)" is correct.

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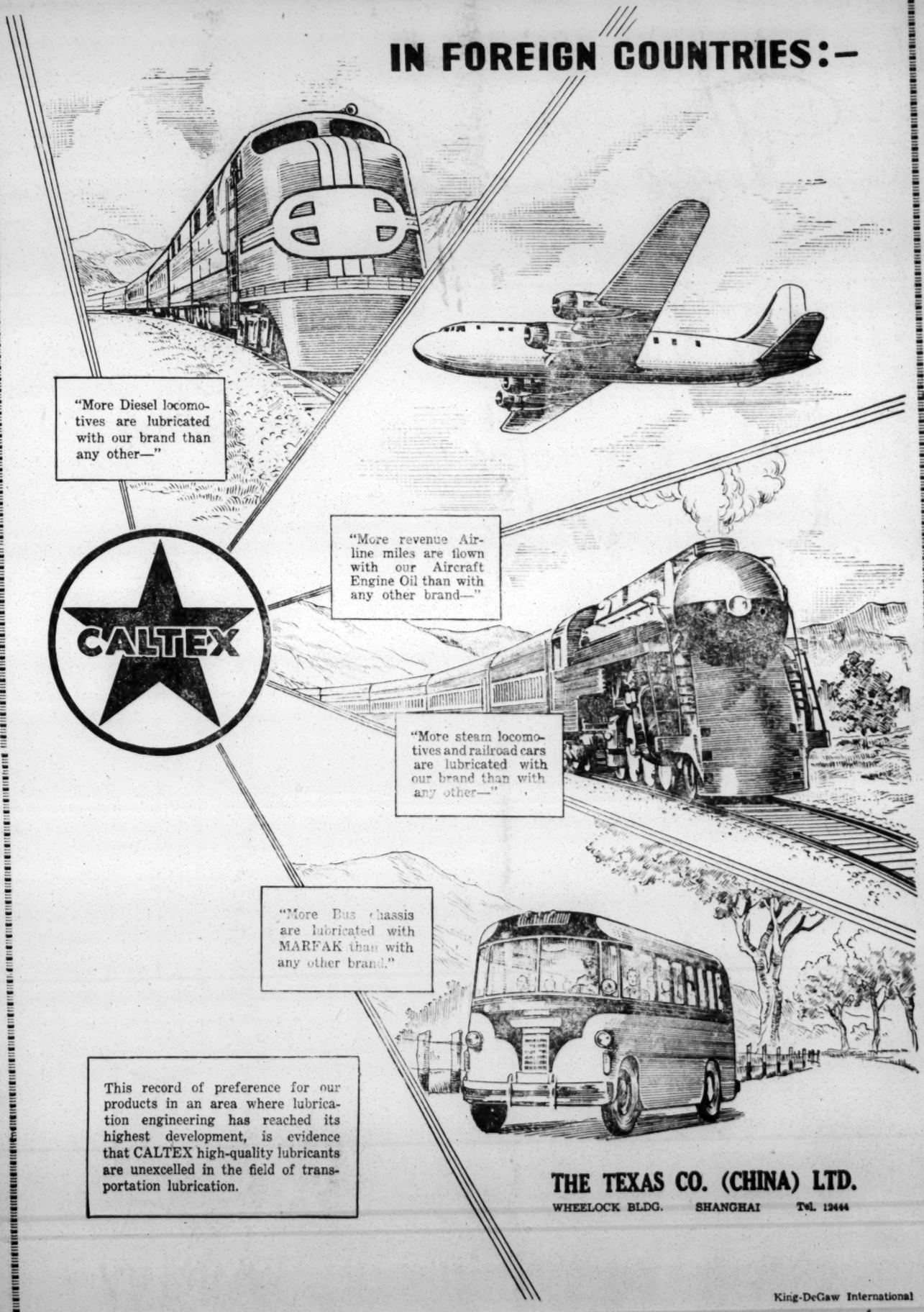

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